

REFERENCE CENTER FOR MARXIST STUDIES INC.  
235 WEST 23rd STREET  
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# LABOR FACT BOOK 12

PREPARED BY  
LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION



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## FOREWORD

The present volume of the biennial *Labor Fact Book* covers mainly developments during the years 1953 and 1954. It thus contains only new material except that certain data are repeated in tables showing a trend over a longer period of time. And in a few cases the reader will find facts from the first part of 1955 used to bring some earlier event or court case up to the latest date possible before publication.

In view of the fullness of the index we have, for the most part, omitted cross references in the body of the book. Also, as usual, in order to save space only a few of our basic sources have been cited. The data are derived largely from government and other standard publications, and we are glad to supply interested readers with the source for any fact or figure. As in previous volumes, the names of unions have been abbreviated.

The chapter on civil rights and their suppression again turned out to be one of the longest. Necessarily much of this section consists of reports on the various prosecutions and persecutions which have continued during the last two years in and out of the courts. Other developments indicate greater activity by the people seeking to eradicate the smog of McCarthyism and to regain their constitutional rights.

In the chapter on trade unions it will be noted that we have again, as in *Labor Fact Book 11*, covered the two trade union federations and the railroad organizations, and then described in greater detail the activities of the independent progressive unions. These are the organizations whose policies and practices have been most frequently misrepresented and distorted in the main media of communication open to the American people. It is, therefore, important that their struggles should be recorded. It is also likely that some of these unions, before another *Labor Fact Book* is edited, may have become a part of the new organization planned in the merger of the AFL and CIO.

As in the previous *Labor Fact Book*, we have included a separate

chapter on agriculture. We regard an understanding of farm problems and a closer relationship between farmers and workers as among the indispensable requirements for progress. Also, the present cyclical crisis of agriculture is a major factor making for general economic decline.

The chapter on labor and social conditions covers in part the same ground as in previous numbers, but for the first time we include briefly topics which have acquired increasing interest in recent years, such as automation in industry, juvenile delinquency, the serious problem of mental health, and the plight of our schools.

We have again summarized the main trends in labor conditions and labor organizations in Canada. We have also touched briefly on the two world federations of labor and on major developments in the unions of Latin America.

Invaluable assistance has been rendered by several able volunteers who have given generously of their time and special information in preparing the data on particular topics. We are indebted also to a number of unions and organizations which have provided reports and special memos on their activities.

Some of the topics included in the present work are given more extensive treatment in other publications of Labor Research Association, as in the new series of pamphlets, the first three of which have appeared in the last year—*Billionaire Corporations*, *The Income 'Revolution'*, and *Apologists for Monopoly*. Others in the same series, including special pamphlets on Latin America, foreign trade and investment, and taxation in the United States, are planned for the near future.

Many of the topics covered in this and earlier *Labor Fact Books* are discussed also in LRA current periodicals—*Economic Notes* and *Railroad Notes*. For possible use in these monthly bulletins, as well as in future *Labor Fact Books*, we invite officers of unions and related organizations in the U.S., as well as abroad, to send us their reports and publications, addressing them to:

ROBERT W. DUNN, Secretary,  
Labor Research Association,  
80 East Eleventh Street,  
New York City, 3, N. Y.

April, 1955.

## I. ECONOMIC TRENDS

### ECONOMIC REVIEW, 1953-1954

The years 1953 and 1954 saw an economic decline with a sharp rise in unemployment. The Administration called it an inventory recession and President Eisenhower's Economic Report in January 1955 referred to it as "a small and brief over-all decline." Its occurrence, however, showed that partial military mobilization has by no means rendered the U.S. economy immune to crisis tendencies, and that, although relatively mild in this period, they could manifest themselves with greater severity in coming years.

The gross national product, a government estimate measuring the value of all goods produced and services rendered, both government and private, fell from a seasonally adjusted annual rate of \$370 billion in the second quarter of 1953 to a rate of \$356 billion in the first quarter of 1954. It remained practically unchanged during the following six months, but rose to around a \$362 billion rate for the last quarter of 1954. The figure for 1954 as a whole was around \$357 billion compared with \$365 billion in 1953.

One of the contributing causes of the decline in economic activity in 1953-1954 was the falling off in "national security" expenditures by the federal government, from an annual rate of \$54.3 billion in the second quarter of 1953 to \$40.5 billion by the fourth quarter of 1954. But despite this decline, and the efforts of the Administration to label the period one of transition to a peace economy, the war preparations segment of federal spending remained a powerful prop preventing a further sagging of the gross national product. Also, capitalist economists and businessmen, projecting prosperous years ahead, continue to assume that at least \$40 billion of taxpayers' money would still be spent annually for "national security." This kind of government spending is acceptable to big business so long as the main burden of it can be placed on the backs of lower-income groups in the form of higher taxes and higher prices.

Income payments received by individuals (total personal income of all classes) declined from an annual rate of \$287.5 billion in the third quarter of 1953 to \$285.7 billion in the second quarter of 1954, but for

the year as a whole there was practically no change from 1953. Dividends and interest payments increased in 1954. But labor income—mainly wages and salaries—dropped from \$204.4 billion in 1953 to \$202.2 billion in 1954. Payrolls alone were \$2.5 billion less than in 1953. But the decline in wages and salaries was offset to some extent by the so-called built-in stabilizers adopted during New Deal and Fair Deal days. Unemployment insurance payments, for example, totaled about \$1 billion more in 1954 than in 1953.

The government's estimate of what it calls "per capita personal income after taxes," or the money supposedly available to individuals for savings and consumer spending, rose between 1951 and 1953, but slipped back a little in 1954. From the second quarter of 1953 to the third quarter of 1954 the drop (as expressed in 1954 dollars) was from \$1,583 to \$1,553, or about 2%. This, of course, reflected a downturn in the buying power of the people as a whole, as total spendable income had not kept pace with the rising population.

**Capital Outlays for Plant and Equipment:** In the nine years since World War II, U.S. industry had added over \$200 billion to its plant and equipment, much of this resulting from the government-stimulated "defense" expansion programs starting with the Korean war. With this type of plant expansion coming to an end, total outlays for plant and equipment turned down in 1954, declining to about \$26.7 billion, or 6% below the peak of 1953. A further slump in this crucial sector of the economy was predicted for 1955, with first-quarter outlay expected to run at an annual rate about \$3 billion below that of the third quarter of 1953.

**Industrial Production:** The two-year period saw the end of the upward movement in industrial production that began in 1952. It was followed by a decline that brought the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production (1947-1949=100) down from a peak of 137 in July, 1953, to 123 in March-April, 1954, a drop of 10%. After leveling off during the summer, production picked up a little in the fall, and the index climbed to 130 by December, 1954. It had thus recovered half its decline during the recession.

While industrial production as a whole was falling off 10% the output of durable manufactures declined by 15% and primary metal production dropped by 25%. At one point in 1954 steel output was down to 63% of capacity, and for the first ten months of the year it averaged less than 70%. Coal production, which has been in a chronic crisis for some time, was about 15% below 1953. By the end of 1954 about



200,000 coal miners were still idle, with demands for some of the government's surplus food reaching Washington from the mining regions of Kentucky and West Virginia.

The upturn in general industrial production toward the end of 1954 was largely the result of the early changeover to the manufacture of 1955-model automobiles. This stimulated an increased demand for steel, and involved also some restocking of goods by related industries where inventory liquidation had been going on for months.

The relative mildness of the industrial recession and some of the pick-up toward the end of 1954, were attributed to a rise in exports resulting from the boom in West Europe, which in turn had been stimulated by greater trade with East European countries. Also, the U.S. government took some action to stem the downward course of production. The excess profits tax was eliminated, with a view to stimulating capital investment, and other financial measures were taken. The government also resorted to stockpiling of zinc and other metals as well as machine tools. And in the latter part of 1954 it again stepped up the flow of military orders. Despite an apparent "leveling off" of military spending, new orders for military equipment were doubled between the first and third quarters of 1954, leading to substantial restocking of raw materials and maintenance of employment by armament firms.

Preparations for the rearmament of Germany and, in early 1955, war scares over Formosa, served as a further stimulant to speculative activity on the stock and commodity markets. This stimulus of a military type affects mainly certain areas and sections of industry. Moreover, it is largely speculative in character and contributes to the instability of the economy.

**Mortgage Debt Increases:** An important factor in limiting the scope of the slump as well as contributing to some revival in late 1954 was the boom in residential construction. Number of housing "starts" rose from 1.1 million in 1953 to 1.2 million in 1954—highest since the all-time peak of 1.4 million in 1950. Although still running far behind the needs of the people, privately-financed construction was aided on liberal terms by the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration. Houses started with this type of government underwriting rose from 39% of the total in 1953 to 56% in 1954.

All this involved a tremendous expansion in mortgage debt. In the year ended September 30, 1954, such debt on non-farm 1-to-4 family houses rose by \$8 billion to a record of \$72.6 billion; by January, 1955,

it had reached an estimated \$75 billion or 14% above January, 1954. This was an all-time peak, following an increase of 300% in nine years, and it represented about 30% of total personal income, after taxes, received by the American people in 1954, compared with 24% in the prosperous pre-crisis year 1929.

Commenting on this vast debt, the *Wall Street Journal* (Jan. 4, 1955) noted that any significant business turndown, with resulting unemployment and shrinking income, "could mean many families would either have to curtail their spending for durable goods—such as cars, TV sets and appliances—in order to meet monthly payments or else lose their homes. Reduced consumer spending and an increase in housing foreclosures would, of course, accentuate any downward business spiral."

**Consumer Debt Greater:** Total consumer debt outstanding also continued to rise during 1953, declined a little in the first months of 1954 and then, assisted by a new automobile sales drive in November and December, reached more than \$30 billion by the end of the year. Of this total, instalment debt, used mainly in the purchase of cars and other consumer hard goods, amounted to around \$22.5 billion. Total instalment debt is now about double the amount outstanding at the end of 1949. New instalment debt has been growing faster than personal income. In 1954 consumers used nearly 40% more new instalment credit than in 1950, yet sales of consumer durable goods were 5% lower than in 1950.

**Unemployment Rises:** With production declining, unemployment rose sharply especially in the period between August, 1953, and March, 1954. Conservative Census Bureau (Dept. of Commerce) estimates showed the number of unemployed workers more than tripled in this seven-month period, rising from 1.2 million to 3.7 million, followed by decreases mostly of a seasonal nature until by December, 1954, the estimate was down to 2.8 million. For the year 1954 as a whole the official estimates put average unemployment at roughly double the average for 1953—3.2 million compared with 1.6 million. And it was conservatively estimated that in the course of 1954 alone at least 9 million workers at one time or another had been hit by unemployment, this number being a minimum since it includes only those who were entitled to unemployment compensation.

In early 1955 the number of unemployed workers started to rise again, in January over 3.3 million (5.2% of the civilian labor force of 63.5 million) being officially regarded as out of work, in addition to

10.2 million working part-time, that is, under 35 hours a week.

Unemployment estimates by private economists run higher than those of the government. The Electrical Workers (Ind.) economists, for example, estimated that when the government set the figure at 3.1 million in January, 1954, the real number was at least 4 million. And Leon H. Keyserling, former chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, estimated later in 1954 that "true unemployment," counting short-time and unrecorded "temporary" unemployment, was equivalent to nearly 5 million full-time jobs, with chronic unemployment rising in a long-term trend. Labor economists estimate also that at least 800,000 new entrants come into the labor force each year, while a million or more workers are displaced by technological changes and rising productivity.

The employment situation during this period was worse in manufacturing than in any other sector of the economy. During the "contraction" months, as Eisenhower called them, about 1¼ million men and women lost their jobs in manufacturing. In fact, the number employed declined for 14 months straight between June, 1953, and August, 1954. Hardest hit were workers in factories making autos, furniture, machinery, and other durable goods. In January, 1955, there were still only 15.9 million employed in all manufacturing industries, about 1.2 million fewer than two years before, in January, 1953, and 1.6 million fewer than in June, 1953, before the recession began.

Failure of employment to keep pace with production when it began to rise in 1954 was due in part to the continued significant increase in labor productivity. Although there is no official index of over-all man-hour output, *Fortune*, October, 1954, estimated that productivity in U.S. manufacturing had been rising in 1954 at an annual rate of about 9%, while in the non-farm sector of the economy as a whole the rise has been at an annual rate of about 5%. And the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago estimated that productivity in manufacturing had risen about 5% in the year ending July, 1954, or at about double the average rate over the past 40 to 50 years.

**Consumer Prices:** Despite the economic decline in 1953-1954, consumer prices continued to stick at their inflationary cold-war level. They rose a little in the early part of 1953, then leveled off, until they dropped slightly at the end of 1954. This "stability" was praised by business leaders who compared it with the decline of 10% in production.

However, some of the investment advisory services felt that failure of prices in general to decline would tend to prolong the "readjustment."

As Argus Research Corp. put it, April, 1954: "Numerous industries seem to have adopted the policy of holding up their prices but cutting their production, and therefore cutting purchasing power creation. This lessens the ability of buyers to move the goods at the high price." The policy of Big Business seemed to be expressed in the words of Pres. Harlow H. Curtice of General Motors who said that, "Price cutting should not be a factor in competition."

Monthly average of consumer prices, measured by the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (1947-1949=100), was 114.4 for 1953, that is, over 12% above the pre-Korean level of June, 1950, and 37% above 1946, the first postwar year. Despite predictions of declining consumer goods prices in 1954, the index fluctuated between 114.3 and 115.2, with the average for the year at 114.8. The outlook at the end of the year was for more "stability" at these high levels.

#### U.S. FOREIGN TRADE, 1953-1954

With the militarization of foreign trade continuing, U.S. exports in 1953-1954 remained deceptively stable. From 1951 and 1952 totals of \$15.5 billion and \$15.8 billion respectively, 1953 exports rose to \$16.5 billion. A preliminary 1954 figure indicated a shrinkage to \$15.5 billion.

Military exports, which are included in the totals, rose sharply from \$1.4 billion in 1951 (9% of total exports) to \$4.1 billion in 1953 (25% of total exports). They declined somewhat in 1954 and at mid-year were moving at an annual rate of \$2.7 billion (17.5% of total exports).

When military exports are deducted from total exports the balance of non-military exports was \$13.3 billion in 1952, \$12.4 billion in 1953, and \$12.8 billion (preliminary) in 1954. The slight increase in U.S. commercial exports in 1954 was the result of increased shipments to Western Europe, reflecting the trade expansion in that area which followed the loosening of East-West trade barriers.

Despite official statements on the need for tariff liberalization, U.S. merchandise imports in 1954 slumped to \$10.3 billion, down from \$10.9 billion in 1953 and \$11 billion in 1951, continuing the postwar trend of decreasing imports relative to the gross national product.

U.S. commercial exports are increasingly being supported, not by broadened imports of goods but by the staggering military expenditure of the U.S. Armed Forces billeted all over the globe.

The 1,370,000 U.S. troops stationed abroad at 950 foreign installations (*N.Y. Times*, Feb. 16, 1955), plus the 167,000 U.S. civilian employees

working at these bases, have been spending a large portion of their earnings overseas. U.S. Army spending for base construction and maintenance work is even more striking. Total military expenditures abroad increased from \$1.3 billion in 1951 to \$2.5 billion in 1953 and 1954.

### U.S. DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

U.S. foreign investments have continued to increase in the last two years. At the end of 1953 U.S. companies and individuals owned \$16.3 billion in foreign plants, mines, plantations and other facilities. This was an increase of about \$1.5 billion over 1952. Indicated total by the end of 1954 was more than \$17.5 billion, with reinvested profits accounting for about half of the increase during these two years.

These direct investments were concentrated mainly in the Western Hemisphere—\$6 billion in Latin America, \$5.3 billion in Canada. New investments in the Middle East showed some slowdown after very rapid increases following World War II.

Largest gains in both 1952 and 1953 were in oil, while second largest in 1953 was in mining and smelting. Investments in both of these fields were highest in underdeveloped countries, gains in oil being largest in Latin America and the Middle East. Sizable increases for both were registered also in Canada, an area of expanding U.S. penetration.

U.S. investment in foreign manufacturing rose \$322 million in 1953. The largest part of this increase was in Canada and Western Europe, while there was a slight increase in Latin America. Total manufacturing investments abroad topped all other fields, but more than 71% was in Canada and Western Europe, and slightly more than 18% in Latin America. Thus such investment in manufacturing continued to be concentrated in the developed areas of the world, while the largest share of investment in extractive and allied industries was mainly in the underdeveloped countries.

### CORPORATE PROFITS

Despite the recession in the economy, corporate profits for 1953-54 remained at the peak levels reached during the previous three years. Under the impetus of continued large-scale armament spending, profits, before taxes, amounted to \$39.4 billion in 1953. This was a 6% increase over 1952, and only 4% under the peak 1951 figure. Despite this showing, the excess profits tax was allowed to expire on January 1, 1954. After-tax profits in 1954 declined to \$17.8, but this was less than 3% below 1953 and about \$600 million above the 1952 total.

Figures in the table below are estimates of U.S. Department of Commerce, except those for 1954, which are preliminary estimates of the Council of Economic Advisers. Figures for earlier years supplement and correct those appearing in previous *Labor Fact Books*.

	<i>Corporate profit before taxes</i>	<i>Corporate profit after taxes</i> (billions of dollars)	<i>Dividend payments</i>	<i>Undistributed profits</i>
1939	6.4	5.0	3.8	1.2
1944	23.3	10.4	4.7	5.7
1948	32.8	20.3	7.2	13.0
1949	26.2	15.8	7.5	8.3
1950	40.0	22.1	9.2	12.9
1951	41.2	18.7	9.1	9.6
1952	37.2	17.2	9.1	8.1
1953	39.4	18.3	9.4	8.9
1954	35.0	17.8	9.9	8.0

In recent years actual corporate profits have been more and more understated. This is primarily because of the huge depreciation write-offs permitted under the original "defense" plant amortization program. It will be accentuated by the new methods of computation written into the 1954 tax law. The *Magazine of Wall Street* (Nov. 13, 1954) pointed out that it was important for an investor "to realize that the earnings reported in quarterly, or annual, statements only tell part of the story unless he takes the trouble to find out what his company is charging off for amortization and depreciation. . . . For the fact remains that what management is concerned with is the totality of earnings, which is to say 'cash' earnings." This is the figure, it says, which should be considered "as a true reflection of earnings."

Spelling this out with more detail, the Chicago Federal Reserve Bank's *Business Conditions* (Dec., 1954) estimated profits (after taxes) plus depreciation at a record high of \$31.5 billion in 1954, compared with \$30.1 billion in 1953, and \$30 billion in 1950, the peak year for after-tax profits.

Many large companies, despite lower sales, had higher net profits in 1954 than in 1953 as a result of the ending of the excess profits tax. A notable example was General Motors Corp. whose net profits rose 34.8% over 1953 while sales declined 2%. General Electric Co. sales dropped 5% but net profits rose 28%.

**Dividends At Peak:** Stockholders of corporations received a record

total of \$9.9 billion in dividends in 1954, a rise of half a billion over 1953 and more than double the total dividends paid out in the war-prosperity year 1944. Further rises were expected in 1955, with estimates running as high as \$10.6 billion.

In their profit rates both on stockholders' equity and on sales the large corporations fared much better than the others. Estimates of the SEC and the Department of Commerce show that during 1952, 1953, and the first nine months of 1954, after-tax profits of the big manufacturing companies (those with assets of \$100 million or more) were practically unchanged at around 11.7% of stockholders' equity. And their rate of profit on sales rose from 5.9% to 6.2%, or a rise of 5% between 1952 and 1954. On the other hand, companies with assets of less than \$100 million in the same period showed a decline of 17% in their profit rate on equity, and of 6% when figured on sales. (*Economic Notes*, March, 1955.)

### WAR PREPARATIONS DOMINATE BUDGET

The U. S. budget for fiscal year 1956 (starting July 1, 1955) was presented to Congress January 17, 1955. Spending for war preparations—military programs, international affairs, "defense" production, and atomic research—totaled \$41.8 billion, or 67% of the total budget of \$62.4 billion.

Related expenditures were \$4.6 billion for veterans' services and \$6.3 billion to pay interest on the national debt. In the table below these are classified as "aftermath of war" expenditures. If these are added to the war preparations total, it is clear that about 85% of budgetary outlays would be for wars, past, present, and future.

This 1956 budget allotted only \$2 billion for social security, welfare and health, or a little over 3% of the entire budget. Housing was cut to \$83 million, after deducting an excess of repayments over expenditures. Outlays for "labor," that is, for Labor Department operation, including amounts for unemployment compensation and placement activities, were increased slightly to \$410 million. Aid to agriculture was cut by nearly \$1 billion, as a result of the Republican "flexible" farm price support program; and funds for TVA were reduced by \$212 million as a result of the Dixon-Yates power giveaway deal.

The table shows actual amounts spent in 1941, 1950 and 1954, with estimates for 1955 and 1956. Figures in parenthesis beside the 1941 and 1956 columns in the table show the percentage of the total for each item.

FISCAL YEARS ENDED JUNE 30  
(in billions)

	1941	1950	1954 <sup>a</sup>	1955 <sup>b</sup>	1956 <sup>b</sup>
War and war preparations	\$6.5 (48.5)	\$17.7	\$48.2	\$42.1	\$41.8 (67.0)
Aftermath of war	1.7 (12.7)	12.3	10.6	10.9	10.9 (17.5)
Social security <sup>c</sup>	2.5 (18.7)	1.6	2.0	2.0	2.0 (2.2)
Housing facilities	0.1 (0.8)	0.3	0.4 <sup>d</sup>	0.4	0.1 (0.1)
Labor	0.2 (1.5)	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4 (0.7)
Agriculture	1.0 (7.5)	2.8	2.6	3.1	2.3 (3.6)
All other purposes	1.4 (10.3)	4.6	4.5	4.7	4.9 (7.9)
Total	\$13.4 (100.0)	\$39.6	\$67.8	\$63.5	\$62.4 (100.0)

<sup>a</sup> Revised figures; those in *Labor Fact Book 11* were preliminary. <sup>b</sup> Estimates.

<sup>c</sup> Revised in 1955 and 1956 budgets by deducting from receipts the share of payroll taxes going to Railroad Retirement Program; for 1956 the figure is \$625 million. <sup>d</sup> Represents excess of repayments over expenditures.

With a budget of \$62.4 billion and prospective income of \$60 billion, a federal deficit of \$2.4 billion was in prospect for fiscal 1956. An even larger deficit would be expected if higher military spending should result from the attempted rearming of Germany and other increases in international tension. The budget message, in fact, asked for \$2 billion more in new spending authority for military purposes than in the previous year.

## TAX DEVELOPMENTS

Income taxes paid to the federal government by individuals have risen from a total of about \$1.8 billion in the fiscal year 1941 (before U.S. participation in World War II) to an estimated \$33.5 billion in fiscal 1956. During the same period corporate taxes show a rise from \$2.2 billion to \$17 billion, having declined, however, from the peak of \$21.5 billion in fiscal 1954. The table below shows the amounts paid in each category in fiscal 1941, 1950 and 1954, together with totals projected for 1955 and 1956.

Despite campaign promises of broad tax relief, the Eisenhower Administration made it clear that tax aid would be given primarily to wealthy groups. On January 1, 1954, both the corporate excess profit tax and a 1951-enacted hike of 11% in individual income taxes were permitted to expire. But for workers with annual incomes under \$3,800, this saving was more than wiped out by adding another one-half of one per cent to the social security tax deduction.



## TYPES OF FEDERAL TAXES

(millions of dollars)

<i>Kind of tax</i>	<i>1941</i>	<i>1950</i>	<i>1954<sup>a</sup></i>	<i>1955<sup>b</sup></i>	<i>1956<sup>b</sup></i>
Individual income	\$1,824	\$18,115	\$33,328	\$31,630	\$33,470
Corporate income & excess profits	2,211	10,854	21,523	18,466	17,034
Excise	2,390	7,597	10,014	9,073	9,350
Social security	932	2,892	5,425	6,080	7,095
Customs	392	423	562	570	570
Miscellaneous	236	1,430	2,320	2,302	2,486
Total	\$7,985	\$41,311	\$73,172	\$68,121	\$70,005
Deduct appropriations to reserves, refunds and adjustments <sup>c</sup>	758	4,816 <sup>a</sup>	8,517	9,121	10,005
Net receipts	\$7,227	\$36,495 <sup>a</sup>	\$64,655	\$59,000	\$60,000

<sup>a</sup> Revised figures. <sup>b</sup> Estimate based on President's budget message, January 17, 1955. <sup>c</sup> See note c in budget table.

In March, 1954, Congress reduced excise taxes by about \$1 billion a year. This meant lower taxes on luxury items such as furs, jewelry, cosmetics, and cabaret bills. Despite demands by labor for repeal of taxes on such popular consumption items as autos, radios, gasoline, and tobacco, these remained untouched.

**Eisenhower Omnibus Tax Law:** On August 16, 1954, an omnibus tax "reform" bill was passed. The bill had been presented to the public as designed to correct "inequities" in the nation's tax system. After considerable bi-partisan maneuvering in both houses and without any effective opposition, it was passed with almost no change from its original form.

Main provisions of this law constitute another major giveaway to wealthy corporations and their stockholders. AFL President George Meany called it "an insult and an injury to the great mass of the American people upon whose well-being our entire economy depends." One tax expert, Walter W. Heller, professor of economics at University of Minnesota School of Business Administration, said: "The 1,000 pages of the new law provide more special benefits and concessions for investment and business than any previous tax measure in history." When the bill was originally voted out of committee in March, 1954, the minority report declared: "Under the guise of removing obsolete language and inequitable provisions . . . the bill reduces taxes substantially for business, primarily corporations and a few selected groups of individual tax-payers."

Main provisions of the law were: (a) more rapid depreciation allowances on plant and equipment; (b) tax credits and exemptions for dividend recipients; (c) extension of "carry-back" period for net operating losses from one year to two years; (d) permission to charge off all research and development expenditures against current income; and (e) easing of penalties and conditions concerning unwarranted accumulation of corporate surpluses.

In contrast, the law granted very minor tax aid to certain working mothers, retired persons, and parents of working students. Aside from this, it contained a whole host of features benefiting investors and their companies. The net effect was to give only 9% of the total tax relief to the 80% of taxpayers earning less than \$5,000 a year, while corporations received 73% of the relief. Together, corporations and persons with over \$5,000 annual income got 91% of the total relief.

Basic reasoning used to support the law was the so-called "trickle-down" theory, i.e., by making business investments more profitable, a portion of the wealth will somehow find its way into the hands of wage-earners. This theory has often been disproved, especially in recent years when, despite high taxes, capital goods expenditures have risen steadily, while workers' relative position has deteriorated.

**Tax Loopholes and Inequities Widened:** Instead of removing existing inequities, the new law widened them and even added some new ones. The accelerated depreciation bonanza, formerly given only to war plant builders, was extended to all corporations. This provision allowed new methods of computation which would have the effect of amortizing two-thirds of a plant's cost during the first half of its life. Savings in taxes to corporations, when this feature is fully operative, are estimated at close to \$2 billion a year.

Special credits in computing the tax on dividend income of individuals provided an estimated \$400 million in annual tax relief to the six-tenths of 1% of American families who own 80% of the value of publicly-owned stocks. In fact only 8 families out of every 100 in this country own any corporate stock at all.

The discrimination against those who work for a living was made clear in the dividend provisions of the new law. Under it a worker with a wife and two children and an income of \$5,000 a year from wages, would have to pay \$420 a year in federal income taxes. But a shareholder, who lives entirely on dividends amounting to \$5,000 a year, would pay about \$100 a year less in taxes than the worker.

One item of tax favoritism not terminated by the 83rd Congress

was the excessive depletion allowance given to oil, gas, and mineral producers. In fact, on some minerals depletion rates were raised. Already this bonanza now results in tax savings estimated at \$1.5 billion annually and is largely responsible for more oil millionaires.

The CIO estimated in January, 1954, that the various forms of tax avoidance and loopholes involve a total annual loss in federal revenue amounting to some \$7.4 to \$7.9 billion. This estimate does not include the tax savings from rapid amortization of war facilities or those resulting from the newly-enacted law. These raise the total by several billion dollars more.

**State Taxes:** Tax revenues collected by states have continued their upward trend. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954, the states took in a total of \$11.1 billion, which was \$600 million more than in the previous year, and about 40% over the 1950 figures.

Expenditures by states also continued to mount, leaving many of them with deficits. Chief reasons for increased state spending are additional necessary projects formerly financed with federal funds (which have been reduced under the Republican regime) and the desperate need of local governments for more state aid for schools, highways and welfare purposes.

Principal source of state revenues are still the excise and sales taxes which fall most severely on low-income groups. These taxes account for about 60% of all state tax income, retail sales taxes alone accounting for 23%. The revenue anticipated under existing sales and income tax levies was severely affected by the business recession of 1953-1954. In November, 1954, the CIO's *Economic Outlook* reported that 32 states now impose "general" sales taxes, which are levied on all retail sales "including even the purchase of food and medicine in all but nine of these states." And all of the states collect "selective" sales taxes which are levies on the purchase of specific commodities such as gasoline, beverages, and cigarettes.

While the federal government received 79% of its total revenue from individual and corporate income taxes in 1953 the states obtained only 17% of their revenue from these sources.

**Tax Burden on Lower Incomes:** Figures compiled by the employer-financed Tax Foundation show that low-income families paid almost a third of their income in taxes of one kind or another in 1954. It estimates that the average tax burden of spending units (roughly families) with annual income of \$3,500 a year amounts to an estimated \$786 a year in federal taxes and \$269 in state and local taxes, making a

total of \$1,055, or over 30% of total income. For those with incomes of \$4,500, total federal tax payments amount to an estimated \$1,071 and the state and local taxes to \$354, making a total in all taxes of \$1,425, or nearly 32% of income.

The Tax Foundation estimates that about half of corporate income taxes, paid mostly to the federal government, are passed on by the manufacturer to the consumer in prices of goods and services. Excise and sales taxes are paid through the price of articles and services the consumer buys. Property taxes are mostly local taxes paid directly by home owners or reflected in rents paid by tenants.

**Progressive Tax Proposals:** Trade unions are virtually unanimous in demanding the following urgent reforms to achieve a more equitable tax system.

1. An increase in the exemption for personal income tax from the present \$600 to \$1,000.

2. Repeal of all those federal sales and excise taxes which invariably fall most heavily on low-income families, retaining only those that are clearly on luxury goods and services.

3. An end to all concessions and special provisions for higher income groups, making all income taxable at the full rate.

4. Closing of all loopholes in the corporate tax law, including the "defense" plant amortization and accelerated depreciation features.

5. Re-enactment of an effective excess profits tax on the super-profits being made by big corporations.

6. Raise state income tax rates progressively and levy an income tax in the 17 states that have none on individuals and the 15 states that have none on corporate profits. Also reduce state sales, excise, and other taxes that fall most heavily on low-income groups; grant authority to cities to levy income taxes as a proportionate share of collections by the states.

7. More rigid enforcement of laws against tax evaders.

8. Defeat of all reactionary proposals, like the "rich man's amendment" to set a limit on maximum tax liability. For the billions saved by the rich through enactment of such proposals would be made up by heavier taxes on lower-income groups.

## II. LABOR AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

### DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME AND SAVINGS

Some 27.5 million families or half of all families (spending units) in the United States in 1953 received money income, before taxes, of less than \$3,780. About 20 million families, or 37% of all, received less than \$3,000.

The Federal Reserve Board, in its annual survey of consumer finances, made by the sampling method, reports this fact. Its definition of the "spending unit" includes "all persons living in the same dwelling and related by blood, marriage or adoption, who pool their incomes for their major expenses." (*Federal Reserve Bulletin*, June and July, 1954.)

Of the 55 million consumer spending units or families, more than half (53%) had incomes of less than \$4,000 in 1953. Here are the figures as reported in the FRB survey on the distribution of money income, before taxes, in 1953:

5,500,000 families (10%)	received less than \$1,000
12,650,000 families (23%)	received less than \$2,000
20,350,000 families (37%)	received less than \$3,000
29,150,000 families (53%)	received less than \$4,000
37,950,000 families (69%)	received less than \$5,000
49,500,000 families (90%)	received less than \$7,500
5,500,000 families (10%)	received \$7,500 and over
2,750,000 families (5%)	received \$10,000 and over
1,100,000 families (2%)	received \$15,000 and over

As grouped cumulatively in the list above, the figures show that in 1953 some 38 million families, or 69% of all, had incomes of less than \$5,000. Yet in that year to meet the Heller budget standard of living (discussed later in this chapter), a wage earner's family of four needed about \$5,400.

**No Income "Revolution":** Various economists, for example, Dr. Simon Kuznets of the National Bureau of Economic Research, have sought to show that over longer periods the top income groups have been receiving relatively less income than formerly.

But the brilliant study of Victor Perlo, *The Income "Revolution,"* indicates clearly that no such decline has taken place. It shows, on the contrary, that throughout the 20-year period 1929-1948, the share of the top 1% remained steady at about 18% or one-sixth of the total national income of individuals. And the share of the top 5% remained steady at about one-third of the national income in the same period.

Looking at the distribution of income from the broader class point of view, Perlo examines the entire private national income over still longer periods. He finds that corporate profits in the 12-year period 1941-52 were 7.6 times those in the earlier period 1929-40, compared with an increase of 3.5 times for non-corporate business income, 3.4 times for farm income, and only 2.9 times for wages and salaries of workers and employees.

Comparing private wages and salaries with all ownership income over long periods, Perlo found also that during the pre-war period 1929-40 the owners' share was 109% of the workers' share. But during the war and postwar period, 1941-52, the owners' share was almost 120% of the workers' share. "Thus the rate of exploitation of labor in the United States has increased since before World War II, and is far above 100%."

**Concentration of Savings:** In early 1954, when the Federal Reserve Board made its annual survey of consumer finances, it found that 14,300,000 families, or one-quarter (26%) of all, had no liquid assets of any kind. Liquid assets include U.S. government bonds, checking and savings accounts in banks, postal savings, and shares in savings and loan associations and credit unions.

Half of all the families had less than \$350 in such savings. At the top of the scale was a group of about 2,200,000 families, 4% of all, each holding \$10,000 and more in liquid assets. But 91% of all the families had less than \$5,000 in such savings.

Arranging the families by tenths in relation to amount of money income, the FRB shows that the highest income tenth at the beginning of 1954 held 39% of all the liquid assets of all families, an increase over the 37% of all such assets held by the highest tenth in preceding year.

These annual surveys of consumer finances, published by the Federal Reserve Board, also help to provide an answer to the claim of some economists that the rich are getting poorer and the poor richer. In his income study, noted above, Victor Perlo uses FRB findings to show that in 1948 the highest tenth of income receivers, with 31% of the total income, accounted for 78% of all savings. "In 1949, a year of mild slump,

the top tenth accounted for 105% of all savings! This means the remaining nine-tenths, on balance, used up savings or went into debt. Over the four years 1947-1950, the average share of the upper 10% in savings was around 83%."

**Negro Family Income:** The marked differential between the income of white families and that of Negro families is shown in the Census reports on consumer income. Half of all Negro families had incomes of less than \$2,338, the median for "non-white" families in 1952. (The median is a form of average, indicating the half-way mark—one-half getting less and one-half more.)

This median for Negro families compares with a median of \$4,114 for white families. Negro family income thus averaged only 56% of white family income. The following figures from the Census report show the differential between the income of Negro and white families in urban, rural nonfarm and rural farm areas:

	<i>Median family income, 1952</i>		<i>Percent Negro</i>
	<i>Negro</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>of white</i>
United States	\$2,338	\$4,114	56
Urban	2,631	4,484	57
Rural nonfarm	2,075	3,842	54
Rural farm	1,170	2,473	47

Median income of Negro families in rural farm areas, as these figures show, was less than half (47%) of the median of white families. In cities and rural nonfarm areas, the median for Negro families was only a little more than half as much as the median for white families.

In his recent study, *The Negro in Southern Agriculture*, Victor Perlo shows that "The extreme southern poverty becomes the rule in the countryside. Among rural-farm southern white families, 65% were under the \$2,000 per year mark; among the southern Negro families, 91% were under the \$2,000 per year mark in 1949." In the six states studied by Perlo the typical income of a southern white farm family was \$1,200, or 40% below the poverty line; and of a Negro farm family around \$500, or 75% below the poverty line.

## WAGES AND WAGE INCREASES

Average weekly earnings in manufacturing industries during the years 1953 and 1954 have ranged between \$70 and \$74, the Bureau of Labor Statistics' reports indicate. At the end of 1954 the average stood at \$74.30 a week.

Beginning in mid-1953, the BLS pointed out, "Earnings leveled off with a small advance in basic wage rates offset by the reduction or elimination of overtime work. . . . Unemployment claims showed a sharp rise in the autumn" of 1953. (*Monthly Labor Review*, Feb., 1954.) This "leveling off" trend continued through 1954 with average weekly earnings of factory workers ranging from a low of \$70.20 in April up to \$74.30 in December.

Wage increases were moderate "although generally widespread" through 1953. These small gains and the continued overtime in a few industries accounted for the relative stability of average weekly and hourly earnings, despite a decline in the average workweek which started in August, 1953.

Hourly earnings in manufacturing averaged \$1.77 in 1953 and \$1.80 in 1954. In some industries earnings averaged considerably higher and in other industries considerably lower than in manufacturing as a whole. For example, hourly earnings in October, 1954, averaged \$2.37 in oil refining; \$2.23 in steel mills; \$2.21 in automobile plants; \$2.02 in rubber products; but only \$1.36 in textile mill products; \$1.34 in apparel manufacture (94c in work shirt plants); and \$1.25 in tobacco manufacture.

In coal mining, hourly earnings in October, 1954, averaged \$2.50; in metal mining, \$2.06; in the telephone industry, \$1.79; in retail trade, \$1.47; in laundries, \$1.

**Increases in 1954:** Although layoffs and unemployment were increasing during 1954, unions in a number of industries were able to gain higher wage rates, often combined with fringe benefits valued at additional cents per hour. Bureau of National Affairs reported that 10% of the wage agreements analyzed in 1954 showed either a decrease or no raise; nearly another 10%, one to three cents an hour; 45%, four to six cents an hour; 18%, seven to nine cents an hour; 11%, ten to 12 cents; and 7%, above 12 cents an hour.

Some larger increases, often 15c or more an hour, were negotiated where the level of business was comparatively high, as for example in much of the construction industry during 1954. Increases of less than 5c an hour, or settlements with no wage increase, were mostly confined to industries which were hit more severely by the economic recession or where chronically depressed conditions, as in textiles, had persisted for some time.

But in August, 1954, members of Auto Workers (CIO), Local 5, employed by the Studebaker Corp. at South Bend, Ind., on a second vote



accepted a wage cut estimated as totaling about 20%. Of this reduction, 14% was a straight cut in the hourly pay rate and the remainder was in fringe benefit changes. Studebaker had reportedly threatened to close down the plant unless the cut was accepted. A similar wage cutting plan had been approved early in the year by UAW Local 12 members at the Kaiser-Willys plant in Toledo, Ohio.

Significant gains were won by a number of unions as a result of strikes, as noted in Chapter V.

**Substandard Wages:** Under the Fair Labor Standards Act, the minimum wage is still only 75¢ an hour or \$30 for a 40-hour week. Yet over 40 million workers, or nearly two-thirds of the 63 million in the labor force, have no federal protection now against substandard wages below even this low minimum. The 40 million or more workers not covered under the Act include farm workers, public employees, professional workers, self-employed persons, those employed in purely local businesses, and others specifically exempt under the Act. Some 2 million domestic workers, 7.5 million in retail establishments, and 5 million in laundries and other services are not covered.

At the end of 1954 the number covered under the federal Act totaled about 24 million, mostly those in factories and offices. President Eisenhower in January, 1955, asked Congress to raise the minimum only to 90¢ an hour. This proposed increase would reflect primarily the rise in living costs since 1950 when the 75¢ rate became effective.

Both AFL and CIO favor a statutory minimum of \$1.25 an hour. Pres. Reuther, in his report to the 1954 CIO convention, called the federal minimum wage law "pitifully inadequate. Its coverage must be broadened and the legal minimum raised to \$1.25 an hour." He urged also that state minimum wage laws (which cover about 4.5 million workers in such establishments as hotels and restaurants and other intra-state industries) should be drastically revised to increase legal minimums above current levels of 60¢ to 75¢ an hour.

## WAGE DIFFERENTIALS

**In the South:** Many northern industrial plants have "run away" and moved to the South during the past two years. A leading Washington service to businessmen has recently admitted the major reason for this "migration of businesses to the South or other low-wage areas," as follows: "Many moves are into non-unionized areas. . . . So the unions want laws to stop it. . . . Southern Democrats will fight the union ideas for they want the plants."

Among the many "runaway shops" that have recently moved or tried to move to non-union or other low-wage areas are: General Electric (over 15 plants); Hat Corp. of America (from Norwalk, Conn.); American Safety Razor Corp. (from Brooklyn, N. Y.); Alexander Smith, Inc. (from Yonkers, N. Y.); Phoenix Hosiery Co. (from Milwaukee, Wis.); Superior Sleeprite Corp. (from Hazelton, Pa.); Hudson Motor Co. (from Detroit, Mich., in connection with merger); Permutit Co. (from New York City); Englander Co. (from New York City).

Regional wage differences were shown in a study by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Wage Differentials Among Labor Markets*, 1953-54. Comparing pay levels in four southern labor markets (Atlanta, Dallas, Memphis and New Orleans) with those in northern and western labor markets, the BLS took the New York level as equal to 100. In manufacturing, it found that the southern pay level of plant workers (in maintenance, custodial, and material movement jobs) was 23% below the New York level in Memphis, 22% below in New Orleans, 21% below in Atlanta, and 15% below in Dallas.

In lumbering, more than 62% of all southern sawmill and logging workers get less than 85¢ an hour, while the national average in that industry is \$1.66 an hour. For workers in sawmills and planing mills in the South, the average in August, 1954, was \$1.05 an hour, compared with \$2.23 an hour in the West. Southern sawmill workers were thus averaging less than half the hourly earnings of western workers in the same industry.

**Efforts to End Differences:** Several unions have recently reported on efforts to eliminate the North-South wage differential. At a joint conference of CIO, AFL, and independent unions on the southern differential, held in New Orleans in the summer of 1954, Packinghouse Workers (CIO) announced it was seeking a general wage increase and a 50% cut in the North-South differential. In its 1954 contracts with meatpacking companies, it reduced the geographical differential by 2½¢ an hour.

Some 40,000 workers in southern steel mills have benefited from the complete wiping out of the differential. In 1937, steel workers in the South got 17½¢ an hour less than those doing identical work in the North. In contracts with U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Republic, and Lone Star Steel in five southern states, the Steelworkers (CIO) gradually reduced the differential until by July 1, 1954, it was cancelled entirely.

During World War II the Mine Workers (Ind.) eliminated the

North-South differential. In their national agreements (1950 and 1952) wage rates were the same in southern as in northern mines.

**Lower Wages of Negroes:** "Negroes are predominantly employed in the lower-paying and less skilled occupations, such as operatives, laborers, and service workers," the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports in a recent study of *Negroes in the United States, Their Employment and Economic Status*. Their average wages are barely 52% of white workers' wages.

The median annual wage for white workers in 1952 (latest available) was \$3,039 but for "non-white" (Negro) it was only \$1,570, Census figures show. This differential of \$1,469 was the source of extra profits for the companies that paid Negro workers so much less than white workers. Eliminating this differential in relation to the wages of some six million Negro workers would increase the workers' purchasing power by about \$8.8 billion. The median annual wage in 1952 was \$3,507 for white men and \$2,038 for Negro men, or about 58% of the white median. For women workers, the differential between white and Negro was even more marked than for men. The median wage for white women in 1952 was \$1,976 but for Negro women only \$814, or less than 42% of the white median.

In an address, March 2, 1954, at Howard University, Washington, D. C., Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said the cost of discrimination (of all kinds) in this country was estimated at \$15 billion to \$30 billion annually.

Wage rates for Negro manual workers in the Chattanooga (Tenn.) area range from 95¢ up to \$1.50 an hour. These rates compare with a national average of \$1.80 an hour for all workers in manufacturing in the country as a whole. This differential, ranging from 30¢ up to 85¢ an hour, means a difference of at least \$12 and up to \$34 in earnings for a 40-hour week.

**Salaries of Negro Teachers:** In 12 southern states, the annual salary for Negro classroom teachers averaged \$2,389 in 1952, while for white teachers in these states the salary averaged \$2,740. This difference was shown in a study of the *Negro and the Schools*, by Harry S. Ashmore of the University of North Carolina. In Mississippi, Negro teachers averaged only \$1,019 in 1952, less than two-thirds of the average salary of \$1,991 paid to white teachers in that state.

## REAL WAGES AND TAKE-HOME PAY

During the past two years the purchasing power of the consumer's

dollar has remained at a point about 48% below the pre-war level. On the basis of the old Bureau of Labor Statistics index of 1935-39 as 100, the dollar was worth only 52.1c in September, 1954. At the same time, the prewar food dollar showed an even sharper decline and was worth only 44 cents.

In terms of 1947-49 prices as 100 on the new BLS index, the consumer's dollar in September, 1954, was worth 87c and his food dollar was worth 89c.

Average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing industries have declined somewhat during the past year and a half. In December, 1953, gross average earnings reached a peak of \$72.36 a week. But by August, 1954, the average had fallen to \$71.06 in current dollars. Expressed in 1947-49 dollars, the current money wages of \$71.06 in the summer of 1954 were equal only to \$61.79.

To show the average "take-home pay" of production workers in factories, the BLS computes each month the "net spendable average weekly earnings." This average is obtained by deducting from gross average weekly earnings the social security and income taxes for which the specified worker is liable. The amount of income tax liability depends, of course, on the number of dependents supported by the worker, as well as on the level of his gross income.

Expressed in 1947-49 dollars, the figures below show the gross average weekly earnings and the net spendable average weekly earnings of production workers in manufacturing:

<i>Period</i>	<i>Gross average weekly earnings</i>	<i>Net spendable average weekly earnings</i>	
		<i>Worker with no dependents</i>	<i>Worker with 3 dependents</i>
March, 1953	\$63.32	\$51.69	\$58.78
December, 1953	62.98	51.40	58.41
Average for 1953	62.67	51.17	58.20
August, 1954	61.79	51.23	57.50

These figures show that in terms of 1947-49 dollars, the gross average weekly earnings of industrial workers fell from \$63.32 in March, 1953, to \$61.79 in August, 1954. This was a loss of \$1.53 a week or almost \$80 a year.

The figures indicate also what a big bite social security and income taxes take from the average money income of industrial workers. Social security taxes increased in 1954, more than offsetting for the majority of workers the slight saving in federal income taxes.

## WAGE-EARNERS' FAMILY BUDGETS

Of the two standard family budgets used by many unions in wage negotiations, only the one issued by the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics at the University of California has been recently priced. (See below.)

Although the City Worker's Family Budget of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics has not been priced by the Bureau since October, 1951, it is possible to estimate what it would require now by applying the increase in the consumer's price index to the budget cost of that date.

With the rise in living costs during the past three years, this city worker's modest budget for a family of four would now require at least \$4,250 in most cities of the U.S., or around \$82 a week. In some cities the cost would be considerably greater. But even this minimum budget is beyond the means of most wage-earners' families, for weekly earnings in all manufacturing averaged \$72.22 in October, 1954.

Here are the figures showing the cost of this family budget (which includes income and other personal taxes) in 16 leading cities of the U.S., originally priced by the BLS and here estimated on an annual and weekly basis, as of October, 1954:

## COST OF CITY WORKER'S FAMILY BUDGET

<i>City</i>	<i>Yearly</i>	<i>Weekly</i>
Atlanta	\$4,401	\$84.63
Baltimore	4,301	82.71
Boston	4,301	82.71
Buffalo	4,211	80.98
Chicago	4,269	82.09
Cleveland	4,185	80.48
Denver	4,283	82.36
Detroit	4,279	82.29
Minneapolis	4,244	81.61
New York	4,165	80.09
Philadelphia	4,160	80.00
Pittsburgh	4,287	82.44
Portland, Ore.	4,236	81.46
San Francisco	4,348	83.61
Seattle	4,366	83.96
Washington, D. C.	4,543	87.36

As the figures above indicate, even the inadequate BLS budget for a city worker's family of four persons required in 1954 from \$80 to \$87 a week in leading cities.

**Heller Committee Budget:** A somewhat more adequate budget for a family of four was priced as of September, 1954, by the Heller Committee. It showed that a wage-earner's family trying to live on this modest standard of living needed to have an income of \$102.60 a week.

The Heller Committee itself recognized that "the total cost of these items exceeds the income of many families in the wage-earner group." This revised budget revealed that in 1954 it required \$5,335 a year for the wage-earner who is a home renter. Of the \$5,335 total cost, the budget allotted \$1,579 for food, \$485 for income taxes and \$624 for housing (rent).

The family covered in the budget consists of a man, woman, boy of 13, and girl of eight. Prices are for the San Francisco Bay area. Although priced only for the one area, this budget has long been recognized as a standard family budget for the country as a whole. Costs of goods, rents, and services in San Francisco have been found to represent also a typical city in the middle range of 34 cities.

Under the Heller budget the woman in the family does all the work of the house, including the laundry, but she is allowed a washing machine, to last 17 years at an annual cost of about \$17. Under an item "personal insurance," the budget allows \$233 a year—including social security, and a small life insurance policy.

**Deficit for Wage-Earners:** Comparing this Heller budget on a weekly basis with the average weekly earnings in manufacturing, we find that a factory worker's family of four was, on the average, far from being able to meet this modest standard of living costing \$102.60 a week in 1954. Weekly earnings in manufacturing averaged \$71.86 in September, 1954. A factory worker on these average earnings trying to live on the Heller budget standard would have had a weekly deficit of \$30.74 in 1954.

**Salaried Worker's Budget:** In addition to the wage-earner's budget, the Heller Committee also priced a budget for a "salaried junior professional and executive worker," costing \$7,980 as of September, 1954. On this budget, the mother still does all the housework. Food, taxes, rent, and other items of expenditure are higher than in the wage-earner's family budget.

## HOURS OF WORK

In all industries, including both agriculture and nonagricultural occupations, the workweek averaged 40.6 hours in November, 1954,

the Bureau of the Census reported. Back of this general average, however, there was a wide difference in the number of hours worked. Many, as shown in figures below, had only part-time work. Others were still working more than 40 hours a week.

In agriculture, the workweek in November, 1954, averaged 47.8 hours. In nonagricultural industries, as a whole, the average workweek was 39.8 hours; in manufacturing industries, 39.7 hours.

Although the 40-hour week is the standard under the Fair Labor Standards Act, only 38.6% of all nonfarm workers were averaging 40 hours at the end of 1954. Nearly a third (30.6%) were working more than 40 hours and 30.8% were working less. As indicated by these figures, overtime work was still common in some industries and part-time work, on the other hand, had become widespread.

Those industries in which working hours are longest, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics reports, include concrete and plaster products (45 hours); pulp and paper mills (43.5 hours); sawmills and planing mills in the South (43.3 hours); local railways and bus lines (43 hours); lumber mills (42.8 hours); hotels (42 hours).

**Part-time Employment:** Three-fourths of the 60 million men and women, over 14 years old, at work in November, 1954, were working 35 hours a week or more, the Census reported. But 14,900,000 men and women, or 25% of all, had only part-time employment—working less than 35 hours a week. And of these about 2,500,000 worked less than 14 hours in the survey week.

The increase in numbers of those having only part-time employment was revealed in a special Census report on *Part-time Workers, August, 1954*. In nonagricultural industries alone, the number of those having only part-time work more than doubled in two years, rising from a low of 1,200,000 in November, 1952, to 2,500,000 two years later. The report showed that some 1,500,000 of these non-farm workers with jobs which are normally full time, put in less than 35 hours in the survey week because of "economic factors," including slack work or material shortages. In all, including agricultural as well as nonagricultural industries, over 9 million men and women had only part-time employment, less than 35 hours, in the survey week in August, 1954.

**Union Demands:** In the face of such irregular employment, unions have begun to demand a shorter standard workweek. Most unions seeking shorter hours call for a 35-hour week with no reduction in pay.

The AFL at its 1954 convention for the first time in recent years

called for a 35-hour week to combat unemployment. The executive council said that the Fair Labor Standards Act should be amended to make a 35-hour week the "standard" for industry, and to require overtime pay for work in excess of 35 hours a week, instead of 40.

Unions whose 1954 conventions set a 30-hour week as their bargaining goal include Electrical Workers (AFL), United Electrical Workers (UE), and Painters (AFL) who definitely called for the 6-hour day, 30-hour week without a cut in take-home pay.

The largest local in the CIO, the 50,000-member Ford Local 600 of the Automobile Workers, announced in November, 1954, that its program for the year ahead included a 30-hour week with 40 hours pay.

## AUTOMATION AND JOBS

The word "automation" has come into use during the past two years to describe the automatic production of goods with a minimum of human assistance—also called push-button methods of production. It is the process by which a part is automatically carried through a series of manufacturing operations either in one complex machine or through a series of machines.

The Ford Motor Co. has taken the lead in applying automation to manufacture. At Ford's engine plant in Cleveland, Ohio, installed in March, 1952, electric "brains" operating from several big panels control the huge assembly lines that turn out engine blocks and cylinder heads for Ford and Mercury cars. In one section it now takes only three machines and nine men to do the same job that was formerly done by 29 machines and 39 men.

Another Ford machine tool installation, as long as a football field and costing over \$2 million, was set up in April, 1954. This equipment turns out engine blocks at a rate of 100 units an hour, performing 530 separate machining operations. It is run by one operator, whereas former methods required 35 to 75 workers for a corresponding volume of work. Thus, between 34 and 74 workers were displaced by this one machine in one plant.

General Motors has contracted for a similar installation, and now plans to spend more than \$1 billion on automation devices.

In the radio and electronics industry, a radio assembly line geared to produce 1,000 radios a day, with only two workers needed to run the line, replaces the standard hand assembly which required a labor force of 200.



General Electric in one plant has a new "automated" line producing switchboxes in seven minutes which previously required 22 days by hand. Electric light bulbs are blown at the rate of 90,000 an hour in a plant employing 230 workers. In 1934 the same output required 4,000 workers.

At a Westinghouse plant in Ohio, more than 2,000 machines and tools are connected with 27 miles of conveyors to produce two refrigerators a minute. The raw material is inserted at the front end of the conveyors and from there on machines do everything, even to the final point where the refrigerator is tested, crated and moved away.

**In Offices:** International Business Machines has installed a "Type 702" electronic data processing machine, containing about 25 smaller machines, in the Newark, N. J., office of the Prudential Insurance Co. It takes the place of 86 machines formerly used in this office for sorting, collating, reproducing, accounting, and calculating.

Competing with this IBM machine is Remington Rand's UNIVAC already in use by General Electric and Metropolitan Life. These big magnetic tape computers "can perform an entire operation without human control. Existing punch card files are transferred to magnetic tape. On another tape, the system is programmed to carry out all the desired steps." (*Business Week*, July 24, 1954.)

**Productivity Increased:** All writers on automation admit that introduction of the system means a consequent loss of jobs. In an automatic plant virtually all labor will be "indirect." The objective is to do things "more economically," to save money, since "more can be produced per given unit of time . . . and labor costs drop to a fraction of the old system's." (*Automatic Control*, July, 1954.)

*Ford Facts*, organ of Ford Local 600 (UAW), as one point in a program for full employment, proposes: "A 30-hour week, with no reduction in pay, so that workers share the fruits of automation, instead of becoming victims of it. This is the key to enlightened labor unions welcoming technological improvements."

In a 1954 convention resolution the CIO analyzed the new technological advances resulting in an "unprecedented displacement of manpower from those operations to which they have been applied. Reductions of manpower by as much as 80% or 90% are common, and examples can be found where one worker operating the new equipment produces as much goods as 100 or more workers produced before. . . . The tremendous increase in productivity which has taken place already, and the still greater increase to be anticipated in the

immediate future, imperatively demand an expanding economy built upon the broadest possible purchasing power base." Congress should make recommendations, it said, "to ensure full production and full employment in peace time."

## SOCIAL SECURITY DEVELOPMENTS

Amendments to the Social Security Act as signed into law September 1, 1954, extended coverage of the federal old-age and survivors insurance system to some 10.2 million additional workers. These include the following groups: 3,600,000 farm operators; 2,100,000 farm workers; 200,000 domestic workers; 3,500,000 state and local employees; 250,000 ministers; 100,000 home workers; 50,000 fishermen; 100,000 employees for foreign subsidiaries; 50,000 in employment not in course of trade or business; 100,000 professional self-employed; and 150,000 federal employees.

It was estimated that by 1955 over 70 million would be working in covered employment, or about nine out of every ten jobs. But some 11 million persons (including lawyers, doctors, about half the farmers, and many low-income workers) are still excluded from social security.

Benefits under the act for some 6.6 million persons already on the benefit rolls, as of September 1, 1954, were raised an average of \$6 a month. Primary insurance for the retired worker himself now ranges from \$30 up to \$98.50 a month, as compared with \$25 to \$85 under previous provisions.

But the average old-age benefit was only \$58.87 a month (about \$13.69 a week) in October, 1954, even after the 1954 amendments became effective.

Maximum earnings on which benefits are computed and contributions paid were raised by the new amendments from \$3,600 to \$4,200 a year. A worker may now drop out from the computation of his average monthly wage, for benefit purposes, up to five years of his lowest earnings.

Persons disabled before reaching 65 will now receive the same old-age benefits at 65 as they would have received if they had continued to work.

**New Formula:** For those who retire after September 1, 1954 (or are survivors of an insured person dying after that date) benefits are computed on a new formula—55% of the first \$110 of average monthly wage, plus 20% of the next \$240. The new formula is applicable only if it yields a larger benefit than the formula that has been used for

those already retired. The minimum monthly benefit for a retired worker or survivor where there is but one survivor entitled to benefits would be \$30, while the maximum monthly family benefits would be increased to \$200. Lump sum death payments would not exceed \$255, as under previous law—barely enough for funeral expenses.

Workers retiring in the future will be eligible for some further benefit increase under the bill as they earn more credit by paying (beginning January, 1955) social security taxes on a maximum of \$4,200 a year instead of \$3,600.

**Limitations on Earnings:** The amount a retired worker is allowed to earn without losing his old-age benefit was raised by the 1954 amendments from the previous \$75 a month. Under the 1954 Act, a beneficiary may earn up to \$1,200 a year without loss of benefits.

This provision puts the earnings test on an annual basis as compared with the previous limitation which was on a monthly basis. For those over 72 years old, the earnings limitation is entirely removed.

Any limitation on earnings of a retired worker is obviously unfair since a retired person who has unearned income (from dividends, interest, or other sources) can draw any amount of other income without any deduction in his retirement benefit. But some two-thirds of the families, already living on public assistance or on old-age and survivors insurance, have no other source of income.

**Tax Raised; Benefits Inadequate:** Social security taxes withheld from the worker's pay envelope had risen from an average of \$12 a year in 1939 to \$73 in 1954. Yet the benefits from this insurance remain inadequate to meet the minimum needs of retired workers.

A retired man and wife need a minimum of \$160 a month for bare subsistence, the Federal Security Agency has estimated in its budget for older workers. But the food allowance in this budget is at the public relief level. This is an inadequate budget. The Automobile Workers (CIO) reported that an elderly couple in 1954 needed at least \$200 a month and this is still "woefully inadequate."

**Recommendations for Improvements:** The AFL recommends the following improvements in social security:

Provision should be made for the payment of benefits, even before the age of 65, to workers who are totally disabled. The limit on annual wages on which contributions are based should be raised from \$4,200 to at least \$6,000.

An increment of  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1% should be added to the primary benefit for each year a worker participates in the system. For each year in

which a worker continues in active employment beyond the age of 65, his benefit should be increased by 2% per year. Workers' benefits should be computed on their best 10 consecutive years of employment. Age of eligibility for women, whether wives of retired workers or working women, should be reduced to 60 years. (It is now 65.)

The CIO at its 1954 national convention passed a resolution calling on Congress to enact further improvements in the social security laws to establish a federal system of social insurance "which will adequately protect all Americans against the hazards of old age, survivorship after the death of the family breadwinner, long-term total disability, temporary sickness or injury, unemployment, and the cost of medical care."

**Unemployment Insurance:** Some 2.5 million federal civilian workers were brought under the unemployment insurance system by the amendments signed into law September 1, 1954. An estimated 1.3 million additional workers in private employment were also brought into the system. These were not previously covered because their employers did not employ eight or more workers. The new amendments extend coverage (effective January 1, 1956) to employers of four or more persons.

But some 12 million workers or about one-quarter of the labor force are still excluded from unemployment insurance. These include those in smallest shops, farm and migratory workers, and domestic workers. Unemployment compensation laws are still left in the hands of the states which differ widely in the amount of benefit paid.

For those receiving unemployment compensation, the average weekly benefit for total unemployment in October, 1954, was \$25.72. This was a little more than one-third of the average wage which was \$72.22 in the same month. Weekly benefits in October, 1954, ranged from \$17.70 in Florida to \$32.67 in Michigan. Even this maximum was only about 45% of weekly wages.

But the U.S. Department of Labor has estimated that a benefit of at least 50% of weekly wages is necessary to enable the unemployed to cover basic necessities. It pointed out that a higher proportion, up to 70% or more, is necessary for low-wage earners and for workers with dependents. The average benefit at present does not pay even for rent and food.

Duration now ranges from a maximum of 16 weeks in four states to 26½ weeks in Wisconsin. When the worker has exhausted his benefits and cannot find a job, he is forced to use up the small savings he may have, or borrow money, or turn to public relief.

**Needed Changes:** The AFL at its 1954 convention called for an increase in unemployment insurance benefits and for extension of unemployment insurance to all jobless workers during the entire period of their unemployment without limitation on the number of weeks for which benefits are paid.

The *CIO News* (Oct. 1954), commenting on the lag in jobless benefits, says: "The field of unemployment insurance has received no favorable attention from the Republican-controlled Congress. With 3.2 million unemployed and more than a million under-employed, the jobless worker finds himself at the mercy of state systems whose benefits are far too low to meet his needs and those of his family."

## WORK HAZARDS

A total of 2,034,000 workers were injured in occupational accidents in 1953, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates, compared with 2,040,000 (final estimate) in 1952. Since total employment was a little higher in 1953 than in the previous year, these government figures indicate a slight improvement in the accident rate. Despite optimistic preliminary reports on 1954 from the Department of Labor, nothing suggests there was any appreciable improvement, especially in view of the increase in speed-up in many industries in that year.

**Work Injuries and Deaths:** Some 15,000 workers were killed in the 1953 accidents. In addition, 84,000 suffered injuries resulting in some permanent disability, such as the amputation of a body member or permanent impairment of some body function. The latter group included some 1,500 cases in which disability was serious enough to incapacitate completely the injured persons for any gainful employment for the remainder of their lives.

On the toll of industrial accidents, the CIO committee on safety commented: "While our casualty list in Korea for three years was 32,000 deaths and 111,000 battle wounds, we killed during that same period 45,000 workers and injured 6 million more here at home."

Work injuries resulted in the loss of approximately 41 million man-days during 1953—equivalent to a loss from the labor force of 137,000 full-time workers. When additional allowance is made for the future effects of the deaths and permanent physical impairments, the BLS estimates, the total economic time loss amounts to about 206 million man-days—equivalent to a year's full-time employment of about 687,000 workers.

**Frequency Rates:** Injury frequency rates for manufacturing as a

whole were slightly lower in 1954 than in 1953, with an average of 11.7 per million worker-hours as against 13.7 per million in 1953, preliminary reports indicate. The injury frequency rate represents the average number of disabling work injuries per million man-hours worked.

Logging again topped the list as the most hazardous of all occupations, with a frequency rate of 74.6 in 1954; sawmills were next with a rate of 40.9. Other industries with high rates—25 or more per million man-hours worked—were structural clay products (40.8); wooden containers (30.0); miscellaneous wood products (27.5); boat building and repairing (26.0).

**In Coal Mines:** Accidents at bituminous, lignite and anthracite coal mines killed 460 men in 1953 while in the previous year 548 had lost their lives in mine accidents. In recording these deaths, the U.S. Bureau of Mines claims that the number killed in 1953 "and the rates of occurrence established new safety records for the coal mining industry." In addition to these fatalities, 26,275 workers were injured in coal mine accidents in 1953.

In the year 1954, a total of 395 mine workers were killed. In November, 1954, one of the worst mine accidents in recent years occurred at the Farmington, West Virginia, mine of the Jamison Coal & Coke Co., owned by the Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co. of the Mellon family interests. Explosions which wrecked the mine took the lives of 15 men inside and one other who was working outside. Rescue crews attempting to enter the mine were forced back by carbon monoxide fumes. The mine was then sealed and the 15 men were entombed.

**Occupational Diseases:** Not only accidents but diseases traceable to conditions on the job are a serious threat to the health of workers in many industries.

As many as 25,000 to 58,000 coal miners in the U.S. may be suffering from an occupational dust disease of the lungs called pneumoconiosis for which there is no known cure. This was reported by physicians in November, 1953, at the American Public Health Association conference. Miners whose x-rays show they suffer from silicosis are eligible for workmen's compensation, the report pointed out, but miners suffering from the lesser known disease of pneumoconiosis do not get compensation and, in fact, are not even generally recognized as having a lung ailment. While there is no cure for the disease, it is, however, preventable with proper methods of dust control.

Cancer of the lungs has been recently reported by many physicians

as closely related to certain occupations. At the APHA conference in 1953, a significant report suggested a link between lung cancer and several occupations not previously identified as being related to the disease. Among these occupations were: welders and sheet metal workers doing welding; steamfitters, boilermakers, asbestos workers; electric bridge crane operators in the metal industry; occupations in the extraction of lead, zinc, and copper ore (affecting metal miners); marine engineers, firemen, oilers and wipers; construction and maintenance painters; and commercial cooks.

In a 1954 convention resolution on the subject, the CIO urged all CIO affiliates to work in their respective states for "enforceable, up-to-date occupational safety and health codes."

### HEALTH NEEDS AND PROPOSALS

Each year, illness costs the families of the United States about \$10.2 billion. It also puts some 8 million families into debt to hospitals, physicians, loan companies and others. About a million families a year are forced to spend at least half their total income on medical bills.

These findings, based on expenditures for the year ended June 30, 1953, are from a survey made public in January, 1954, by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago. It was the first nation-wide consumer survey of medical costs since the middle 1930's. The \$10.2 billion cost incurred by families for personal medical and health services did not include \$1.8 billion spent for medical and dental services by local, state, and federal agencies, including welfare departments, workmen's compensation, Veterans' Administration, and private charity. A still later estimate by *U.S. News and World Report* (Dec. 24, 1954) put medical care at a total of \$12.4 billion a year—nearly \$240 for the average family—not counting an estimated \$3.3 billion a year of government spending.

Only about 15% of private expenditures for medical care is covered by voluntary health insurance, providing for prepayment of physician and hospital expenses. While over half of the population have some prepaid protection, at least for hospital care, the system falls far short of meeting the need. Such plans pay only the first part of total costs.

The proportion of families covered by such health insurance varies greatly with the amount of the family income. For families receiving less than \$3,000 a year income, only 41% have some type of coverage. For those having \$3,000 to \$5,000, the proportion increases to 71%, while for those having \$5,000 and over, it is 80%.

**Public Health Status:** The President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation in its report, *Building America's Health*, stated: "A recent study of draftees examined between July 1950 and June 1951 showed that 15% had been rejected for medical reasons only. (This figure is not as high as during World War II because standards have been lowered.) Findings of periodic physical examinations of school children also indicate serious deficiencies in the health status of our young people. . . .

"Heart disease, cancer, and the cerebral accidents head the list of causes of death. Fatal accidents represent today the fourth leading cause of death. Measured by number of cases, the respiratory diseases are most important. . . . If we view illness in terms of the total number of days disabled, heart disease and mental disease head the list."

**Health of Negroes:** The Negro population still has a shorter life expectancy than the white population, the President's Commission found. "Tuberculosis, maternal mortality and infant mortality are among the conditions in which the difference between the white and Negro races are still considerable." (See data in *Labor Fact Book* 10.)

This difference is due largely to the lower income of Negro families as a result of the lower wages paid to Negro workers, noted elsewhere in this chapter. All evidence points to a higher incidence and longer duration of illness among people in low-income families than among those with a higher income, the President's Commission reported. This is particularly true for the chronic diseases and impairments.

In New York City in 1953, the Health Department reported that "poorer socio-economic conditions among non-whites" was causing an "alarming" increase in infant mortality rates. For the entire city, the infant mortality rate was 24 deaths in every 1,000 live births. Infant deaths up to one month of age are included. But in Central Harlem, the infant death rate was 48 per 1,000 births, and in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section, it was 33. For 11 areas, largely Negro and Puerto Rican, the Health Department's annual report showed that the infant death rate actually increased from 36.5 per 1,000 in 1951 to 39.5 in 1952.

**For Medical Care:** The President's Commission estimated that the U.S. needs about 700,000 general hospital beds in order to allow one bed for approximately 220 persons. Nearly 230,000 new general hospital beds are needed to achieve this standard. (It estimated also that by 1960 the nation will need 22,000 more doctors, 17,000 more dentists and 50,000 more nurses.)



The Committee for the Nation's Health reported that all major health bills introduced in the 83rd Congress were "actively opposed by the American Medical Association" and no action was taken on any of them. After Eisenhower, in a health message to the 84th Congress, again asked for a federal re-insurance plan for private voluntary health insurance and other small technical aid programs in the health field, the Committee described his proposals as "incompetent to meet the major problems of medical costs."

### MENTAL ILLNESS: A GROWING PERIL

Approximately one out of 16 persons in the U.S. is afflicted by serious mental or emotional illness. One out of 12 children born in 1954 in the U.S., it is estimated, will at some time in his life undergo a mental illness serious enough to require hospitalization.

The National Association for Mental Health estimates that on any given day during the year nearly 750,000 persons are under the care of mental hospitals alone, constituting about 55% of all patients in hospitals of all types. And for every person treated in a mental hospital there was at least one more person in need of treatment but unable to get it. And the NAMH estimates that about 5 million who go to general hospitals for physical ailments or injuries during the year are suffering from some mental or emotional disturbance.

Approximately 270,000 veterans have neuro-psychiatric disorders and nearly 55,000 are already hospitalized under the Veterans Administration program, with 16,000 more waiting for admission as of January, 1955.

More than 500,000 patients are in the nation's 212 state mental hospitals, and in the course of a year at least 900,000 spend some time in these state institutions. In addition, about 250,000 are out-patients of mental health clinics and another 800,000 are under the care of private psychiatrists.

While the number of persons with mental illnesses increases, the institutional facilities for their care remain on the whole antiquated and overcrowded, and lack both adequate equipment and trained staff. There is an estimated need for over 336,000 additional beds for care in mental hospitals.

In the South, in contrast to the \$17 a day average spent on the care of other patients in general hospitals, the average spent per day on patients in state mental hospitals is only \$2. These states need more

than twice as many hospital beds for mental cases as they now have. There are only half as many mental health clinics in proportion to the population as in the U.S. as a whole.

Lack of funds for research in connection with this No. 1 health problem of the nation is especially severe. Today less than \$4 a year per patient is being spent on research for mental illnesses, compared to about \$28 a year per polio patient under treatment. Although a federal grant-in-aid program for research and other measures relating to mental illness amounted to a paltry \$3.5 million in 1947 the amount declined still further to \$2.3 million in fiscal year 1953.

### HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS

Little has been done during the past two years to solve the basic needs for low-cost housing in this country. Some 15 million dwellings (including urban, nonfarm and farm) were classified as "substandard" by the 1950 Housing Census. With the steady increase in population the need for replacements and for new homes grows more desperate each year.

The Census, covering nearly 46 million dwelling units in urban, rural farm, and rural nonfarm areas, disclosed that 15 million dwellings (some 10 million of them in urban centers) lacked a flush toilet, nearly 14 million were without private bathtub or shower, and more than 6 million had no running water inside or outside. More than 2.5 million families were seriously overcrowded with more than 1.5 persons per room. Because of their population density and high land coverage the urban slums of the United States have been rated among the worst in the Western world. (See also *Labor Fact Book 11*.)

**Cutback in Public Housing:** Although the U.S. Housing Act of 1949 had authorized the federal government to help construct 810,000 public housing units, only 200,000 such units had been built by June 30, 1954. Still authorized but not built were 610,000 public housing units.

Both in 1954 and 1955, President Eisenhower in his State of the Union messages proposed that Congress cut back public housing to only 35,000 units a year or to a total of 70,000 units in two years—a mere fraction of the number needed. By the 1958 fiscal year, Eisenhower said, no further public housing would be needed! The program that finally emerged from the 83rd Congress authorized only 35,000 additional dwelling units for the next fiscal year and none for the years thereafter. Thus the 1954 Act not only cut the low-rent public housing

program to the bone but prevented adequate planning for the future.

Under the 1954 amendments no local housing authority can initiate a project for low-income families with federal assistance unless the local governing body certifies that such a project is necessary for the relocation of families displaced by a slum clearance program. If a project is approved on this basis, the local authority is allowed to build no more new dwelling units—whether with federal, state, or local aid—than are required for the rehousing of such families.

Back of these cutbacks in public housing programs are its traditional foes—"the real estate boards, building-and-loan associations and other private home finance institutions" which have "intensified their efforts against any further slum clearance." (Helen L. Alfred in *The Nation*, Oct. 30, 1954.)

**Cost of Slums:** Areas classified as "slums" comprise about 20% of the total areas of cities and 33% of total U.S. population. But they account for 45% of major crimes; 55% of juvenile delinquency; 60% of tuberculosis; and 35% of all fires.

Although slum areas contribute only 6% of total real estate tax revenues, they consume 45% of the cities' expenditures for services. In Buffalo, N. Y., for example, in 1952, police and fire protection and health and social services cost the city \$139.86 per family in the city as a whole. But in the slum areas they cost \$340.12 per family.

In New York City, the slum areas still include "Old Law" tenements that were declared substandard in 1901. The New York City Housing Authority reports that in Greater New York, "as a result of the failure to maintain an adequate building rate," 426,792 apartments in Old Law tenements were still on the market and in use in 1952. Under the N. Y. State Tenement House Law of 1901, these ancient rookeries were declared to be below minimum standards established for the new construction of that period, more than 50 years ago. Yet today, nearly 2 million men, women and children are obliged to call them "home" in one of the richest of all cities.

**Proposals:** The current residential construction rate of about 1 million units a year should be doubled to provide livable homes for the nearly one-third of all U.S. families now forced to live in dwellings below even minimum standards.

The AFL, at its 1954 convention, urged Congress to enact a 2 million dwellings-a-year program. It would involve resumption of the low-rent public housing program at an annual rate of at least 200,000 units a year; providing necessary financial assistance to cities for slum clear-

ance and rebuilding; increased federal assistance for housing for middle-income families through reduced interest rates and lengthened amortization periods.

Testifying before the Senate Banking & Currency Committee in April, 1954, the late James B. Thimmes, then vice-president of the Steelworkers (CIO) and chairman of the CIO housing committee, pointed out that one-fifth of all American families cannot afford to spend more than \$42 a month to rent or to buy a house. More than half cannot afford to pay more than \$68 a month for their shelter.

### SCHOOLS IN CRISIS

Educational facilities of the American people are not keeping pace with the growth in population or with the rise in national income. Even the National Association of Manufacturers admits that we are spending proportionately less of our income on schools today than we did in 1930.

The Office of Education estimates that as of September, 1954, there was a shortage of some 370,000 classrooms in U.S. public schools. To take care of this lag and the continued obsolescence, some 720,000 public elementary and secondary school classrooms and related facilities will be needed during the next five years.

In the winter of 1953-54 about 840,000 school children were in make-shift quarters, 300,000 were in school-owned barracks and some 400,000 in rented quarters such as garages and church buildings. By the 1953-54 school year about two-thirds of the states reported a considerable or very large rural elementary school building shortage, and the situation in urban centers was growing worse. The National Education Assn. reported that no state could afford under its existing financial structure to build all the facilities it required. The proportion for which they needed some form of federal aid varies from over 9% in Connecticut to nearly 98% in Alabama.

The U.S. Office of Education has estimated that for the nation as a whole the shortage of teachers, chiefly in the elementary grades, in the 1953-54 school year would amount to about 122,000. The National Education Association puts it at nearer 215,000 allowing for some reduction in workloads of teachers. Basic cause of this shocking shortage of teachers is the low rate of pay. Average salary of classroom teachers in the U.S. is now about \$3,600 a year. And many teachers get much less than the average, for it often takes up to 15 years to reach the top salary bracket. The NEA recommends \$3,600 as a starting salary. In

many states, especially in the South, salaries are far below the national average, as indicated in the section of this chapter dealing with wage differentials.

Shortages of classrooms and teachers have in many communities deprived tens of thousands of children of full educational opportunities. The most obvious deprivation is the "half-day" session or double-shift (sometimes even triple shift) system. At least 700,000 children were on a multiple-shift system in the 1953-54 school year and a million the following year.

**Segregation Decision:** In an historic decision, the U.S. Supreme Court, May 17, 1954, unanimously outlawed racial segregation in public schools. This reversed a decision of 1896 when the Supreme Court held that segregation was not unconstitutional if equal facilities were provided for both races.

Cases in which the new decision was announced were brought by Negro students in Kansas, South Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware with the aid of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They sought admission to the public schools of their county on a non-segregated basis, but they had been denied admission to schools attended by white children.

About 40% of the nation's total public school enrollment has been in the 17 states and the District of Columbia where school segregation has been required by law. A total of 8,200,000 white children and 2,530,000 Negro children in 1954 were attending elementary and high schools in the segregated states. (Ala., Ark., Del., Fla., Miss., Mo., N. Car., Okla., Ga., Ky., La., Md., S. Car., Tenn., Tex., Va., and W. Va.) In addition, Kansas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Wyoming had statutes permitting segregation, although Wyoming has never applied it.

In its new ruling, the Supreme Court declared: "In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Following this decision, open defiance of the high court ruling was expressed by governors of several southern states. Gov. Hugh White of Mississippi announced that his state would pay no attention to the decision. In four states, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia and Mississippi, laws were passed to turn public schools over to private agencies or to local boards for operation on the old segregated basis. (See *The Public versus Segregated Schools*, by Doxey A. Wilkerson, New Century Publishers.)

In many other areas, however, the National Association for Advancement of Colored People found that a number of southern localities were integrating their public school systems and that several southern colleges, universities, and private schools were taking similar action. By the end of 1954, at least four major cities and more than 40 communities in seven states had begun the process of integrating their formerly segregated school systems.

## JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Teen-age crime has increased by 45% in the past five years. An unprecedented total of more than a million youngsters under 18 came into conflict with the authorities in 1954. Of these 435,000 were brought into court; more than 100,000 were held in jail; some 40,000 were sent to so-called training schools. It is now predicted that unless drastic action is taken to control such crime, some 750,000 boys and girls will go through the juvenile courts and total offenses reported will come to more than two million by 1960.

These findings were reported by Richard Clendenen, executive director and Herbert W. Beaser, chief counsel, of the Senate Judiciary subcommittee to investigate juvenile delinquency. The committee carried out in 1953-54 the most exhaustive study ever made of teen-age delinquency.

A report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, May 5, 1954, covering the year 1953, stated: "While only 8.4% of all persons arrested were 17 years old or less, they accounted for 18% of the arrests for robbery, 40% of the arrests for larceny, 49.3% of the arrests for burglary, and 53.6% of all auto thefts."

Similar data for 1954, based on police reports, showed that nearly one-half of the persons arrested for burglary were not yet 18, and two-thirds of these were under 16 years of age. Youth under 21 represented one-half of the arrests for crimes against property—robbery, burglary, larceny, auto theft, embezzlement, and fraud.

Teen-age crime is increasing more rapidly than adult crime. In a survey of 200 cities in 1953 the FBI found that the crime rate of adults rose by 1.9% during the year while among youths 18 years and under it rose by 7.9%. From 1952 to 1953 the number of assaults committed by youths was doubled and there was a sharp rise in murders, rapes, weapons carrying, and other violations by teen-agers.

**Punishment or Rehabilitation?** Treatment of juvenile delinquents, far from getting at the source of the problem, is grossly inadequate even for dealing with individual difficulties and may even aggra-

vate delinquency. Three out of four cases are dealt with directly by police without being taken to juvenile courts. A few are directed to social agencies.

At least 5% of a community's police force should be devoted to work with children, it has been estimated. But today nearly half of U.S. communities of over 20,000 population have not even one policeman assigned to this task. Judges presiding over juvenile courts seldom have special training. Half the counties in the U.S. have no probation service for juvenile delinquents.

Training schools for juvenile delinquents do not have the staff to offer a genuine treatment program. In many states children are sent to these schools although they should be in institutions for the mentally retarded or emotionally disturbed. Less than half the training schools have a part- or full-time psychiatrist available to them. More than a third do not have even a social worker on the staff.

**Effect of Crime Comics and TV:** Problems of teen-age crime are too complex to permit of simple analysis or easy solutions. But the sudden increase in sadistic crimes by youngsters indicates a connection with the new vogue of sadism in crime comic books and in some of the movies and television shows.

In his testimony before the Senate committee investigating delinquency, Mr. Clendenen reported there were about 422 different kinds of comic book titles on the newsstands in March, 1954. About one-fourth were of the crime and horror variety. He estimated that somewhere between 75 and 100 million comic books were sold each month. This means that "there are some 20 million crime comic books placed on the newsstands of the country each month."

The well-known psychiatrist, Dr. Fredric Wertham, Director of the Lafargue clinic, N. Y. City, and author of *Seduction of the Innocent*, opposes the crime comic as "important contributing factors in cases of juvenile delinquency." He states that while at one time "impairing the morals of a minor was a moral offense, now it has become a major industry." As a result of efforts to control crime comics, the New York State legislature in 1954 passed a law which banned the sale of certain publications to minors.

As for television programs, Pres. Clara S. Logan, of the National Assn. for Better Radio and Television, testified at the Senate Committee hearing, Oct. 24, 1954: "Crime and violence are the dominating factors in approximately 40% of all television programs presented specifically for children. . . . More than 800 crime television programs for

children have been produced in Hollywood." She said the conclusion of her organization was: "There is a great and increasing volume of crime and violence in television programs for children." There were four times as many crime programs for children in 1954 as there were three years ago.

John Crosby, radio and television columnist, noting these facts, observed: "Violence is no stranger to children's fiction or to children's movies but this kind of violence, this utter brutality, is comparatively new and it's getting worse." (N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, July 23, 1954.)

**Contributing Causes:** Many elements, in addition to crime comics and television programs, are involved in the general increase in teenage crimes. But of basic importance are the living conditions under which so many boys and girls grow up—slums and poverty, overcrowded schools, and overburdened, under-paid teachers who cannot give the children the individual attention they need. Even the FBI, in its report, *The Crime Problem*, admitted: "Poverty produces many of the conditions conducive to crime, such as bad housing, unwholesome neighborhood influences and congestion." (*Congressional Digest*, Dec., 1954.)

## YOUNG WORKERS

Nearly two million school-age boys and girls, 14 to 17 years old, are at work in this country. During the summer vacation period the number of such workers rises to nearly three million.

Young workers increased in number between 1940 and 1950, although during those ten years the total population 14 to 17 years of age had declined. The National Child Labor Committee reports: "In 1940, one child in every 23 of 14 and 15 years was at work; in 1950, one in every 11. For the 16 and 17 year olds, the change was less: one in every 7 was employed in 1940 and one in every 5 in 1950."

In its detailed figures, the decennial Census reported that the largest number of working children were in agriculture, as shown below. But nearly 200,000 teen-agers, 14 to 17 years old, were working in factories, and 63,700 of these were under 16. In wholesale and retail trade, there were 319,000 boys and girls of school age, including 59,000 who were under 16.

Of the total number of young people 14 to 17 years old 16% were at work in 1950, the Census revealed. In 17 states at least one in five was employed. But in many states, the proportion was even higher—ranging up to 27% of the youth in South Carolina and South Dakota.

In its 1954 annual report, the National Child Labor Committee esti-



mated that 1,975,000 boys and girls (14-17) were at work in April, 1954, and one-third of these (652,000) were only 14 and 15 years old.

**Leaving School:** One child in six never enters high school, the 1950 Census showed, and half of the others drop out before graduation—most of them to work. More than half the states still permit children of 14 and 15 to leave school for employment. The 16 southern states and the District of Columbia, with only 36% of the nation's 14 and 15 year population, have 68% of all the children of this age out of school and at work.

"Nearly nine million children under 18 years of age belong to families whose average income is less than \$40 a week," the NCLC reported. "About 3½ million of these children come from families whose earnings average even less than \$20 a week. By no means have we reached the day when no child is forced to leave school because of poverty." (*The Changing Years, 1904-1954.*)

**Unemployment Increased:** Although a relatively large number of young workers were at work in 1954, unemployment among young people seeking jobs showed a decided upward trend during the year. Among those who were 16-17 years old, every month from February on showed an increase in unemployment compared with the year-earlier period.

Some were seeking part-time jobs. Some were "newcomers to the labor market" who were having difficulty in finding jobs. Some who had previously been employed had lost their jobs in the 1954 recession. Young workers who have not yet acquired skills were especially hit by the economic decline. In its 1954 annual report, the National Child Labor Committee pointed out the dangers in this situation: "Unemployment can mean severe social and psychological as well as economic dislocation for those approaching maturity and striving to attain adult status."

**In Agriculture:** The largest number of young workers 14 to 17 years old work in agriculture. The 1950 Census showed 428,540 boys and girls of this age group at work on farms. However, the NCLC points out that this does not give any real idea of the number of children working in agriculture: "The Census is taken in April, when in most parts of the country agricultural employment is at a low ebb. Children, especially those employed for wages, work chiefly on the harvesting of crops. Also the Census employment count does not include children under 14 years, of whom large numbers work in agriculture."

In August, 1954, the committee found, the total number of young

workers had increased to 2,965,000 of whom almost a third (946,000) were on agricultural jobs. Half of those employed in agriculture were only 14-15 years old. Many are only 10 years old or even younger.

## WOMEN WORKERS

About one-third of the women in the United States, including teenagers at least 14 years old, are at work outside their homes. These 19.7 million women workers are also nearly one third (31%) of all workers in this country.

Since 1940 both the number and the percentage of women workers have increased. In 1940 there were only 13.8 million women in the labor force, comprising 25% of all workers. Increases have been most marked among white women, but the relative number (37%) of all Negro women who are at work is still definitely greater than the corresponding percentage of white women.

Only in "general household labor" had the number of women workers declined. From 1940 to 1950 their total had dropped by almost 300,000. And such workers, who had been 17.7% of the total woman labor force in 1940, were only 8.5% of the total woman labor force in 1950.

**Wages of Women Workers:** Most of the 19.7 million women now in the labor force in this country earn less than the men who do the same kind of work. This outstanding fact is admitted by the U.S. Women's Bureau in its recent publications, *The Status of Women in the United States*, 1953, and the 1954 *Handbook on Women Workers*.

"The median income of women, nearly all of which is derived from wages and salaries," the Bureau points out, "has risen only slightly in the postwar period." Latest figures from the Census report on consumer income show that the median for women rose from \$901 in 1945 to \$1,147 in 1952. In the same period, however, the median income for men rose from \$1,811 in 1945 to \$3,105 in 1952. Women's average income from wages and salaries was half that of men in 1945. By 1952, women averaged only a little more than a third (37%) of the amount received by men.

In analyzing reasons for the wide discrepancy between the earned income of men and women workers, the Women's Bureau admits that occupations traditionally employing women have a relatively low wage scale. And "women still are paid less than men, in a multitude of cases, for doing the same or comparable work."

**Equal Pay Laws:** Efforts to establish standards for equal pay for equal work in federal and state laws have made little progress in the past

two years. Thirteen states have such laws applying in varying strength to private employment. Sixteen of the 48 states and the District of Columbia have laws requiring equal pay for men and women teachers, and this principle is set forth by school-board action in a good many city school systems.

In the 83rd Congress six bills were introduced in the House and one in the Senate to require employers engaged in interstate commerce to provide equal pay for comparable work. But none of these measures came to a definite vote.

At its 1954 convention the CIO went on record "for passage of effective federal and state laws to safeguard the principle of equal pay for equal work, while recognizing that effective administration of such laws requires not only proper government machinery but strong unions." It reaffirmed its support for the Women's Status Bill "which would, without endangering protective labor legislation, establish a federal policy against discrimination on account of sex."

**Negro Women At Work:** In 1953 there were 2½ million Negro women workers and these made up 13% of the total woman labor force in the United States. Among persons 14 years and over, 40% of the Negro women were in the labor force; of the white women 32%. These facts are revealed by the U.S. Women's Bureau in a pamphlet on *Negro Women and Their Jobs*.

In 1952, the median earnings of women receiving wage or salary earnings was \$814 for Negro women and \$1,976 for white women. This differential of \$1,162 means that Negro women's earnings averaged only 41% of white women's earnings. Partly as a result of the low incomes of Negro women workers, the median income of Negro families in 1951 was only \$2,032, or about one-half that of white families.

### III. CIVIL RIGHTS

#### McCARTHYISM IN ACTION

Joseph R. McCarthy (R., Wis.) was first elected to the U.S. Senate in 1946 and re-elected in 1952. But it was not until November 16, 1953, that former President Harry S. Truman in an address to the nation described the Senator's methods and aims as McCarthyism:

"The present Administration has fully embraced, for political advantage, McCarthyism. . . . It is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of the 'due process' of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism or security. It is the rise to power of the demagogue who lives on untruth; it is the spread of fear and the destruction of faith in every level of our society."

**Opposition Develops:** On December 2, 1954, the U.S. Senate voted 67 to 22 to condemn McCarthy for contempt of a Senate elections subcommittee that investigated his conduct and financial affairs; for abuse of its members; and for his insults to the Senate itself during the censure proceedings. It was only the fourth time in the long history of the Senate that a Senator had been thus publicly censured.

On the basis of charges brought by former Sen. William Benton (D., Conn.), a partial investigation had been carried out in 1951-52 by the Senate subcommittee on privileges and elections of the committee on rules and administration. The published report of this investigation includes letters and photostat copies of records showing McCarthy's financial transactions and activities for such special interest groups as the real estate, sugar, and China lobbies. (For his voting record in the Senate, see "Calling the Roll on McCarthy," by Miles McMillin, in *The Progressive*, May, 1954.)

**Army-McCarthy Hearings:** When McCarthy and the U.S. Army washed their dirty linen in public televised hearings from April 22 to June 17, 1954, widespread disgust developed among the people. In these hearings before McCarthy's own committee, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, then presided over by Sen. Mundt, one of his cronies, the people saw that McCarthy and his assistant Roy

Cohn "sought by improper means to obtain preferential treatment" by the Army for Cohn's friend, Private David Schine, as the Army charged.

It was clear that Secretary of the Army Robert Stevens had leaned over backward in his attempt "to keep the goodwill of Mr. McCarthy and his crew" (*N. Y. Times*, April 30, 1954), and this also was then the policy of the Eisenhower Administration. The Army was, in fact, kow-towing to McCarthy. On McCarthy's wild charges that the Army was protecting "spies" at Fort Monmouth, N. J., it was reported that extensive investigation had revealed no espionage there.

**McCarthyism as Policy:** McCarthyism is both a method and a political policy. The method is brutal. One example of its brutality was the treatment of Mrs. Annie Lee Moss, an elderly Negro woman worker in Washington, D. C. A paid FBI informer, Mary Stalcup Markward, named Mrs. Moss as a Communist but admitted she could not identify her. Mrs. Moss, called before the House Un-American Committee in February, 1954, denied under oath that she had ever been a member of the Communist Party.

McCarthy nevertheless demanded that Mrs. Moss be dragged out of a sickbed to appear before his committee. Before she could speak, he browbeat her, denounced her as a Communist and threatened her with perjury charges if she denied it. Democratic members of McCarthy's committee protested against the methods used by Roy Cohn in this case; that he was "convicting people by rumor and hearsay and innuendo." They denounced his tactics.

Mrs. Moss was twice suspended from her minor job in the Pentagon, but finally restored to an Army job, not in the Pentagon.

As a political policy McCarthyism denounces social welfare programs for better housing, better schools, better medical care and more adequate social security, as "creeping socialism." Its policy is embodied in police-state laws, the Smith Act, the McCarran Act, and the Walter-McCarran Act. Prosecutions under these laws, summarized in the following pages, constitute McCarthyism in action.

**Burning of Books:** In June, 1953, it was reported that the State Department had been purging its overseas libraries of all books suspected by Sen. McCarthy as having been written by Communists or Communist sympathizers. Books were removed and sometimes burned in connection with at least six confidential government directives. (*N. Y. Times*, June 22, 1953.) The full blacklist of books burned and banned was kept secret.

A manifesto on book curbs, entitled "On Freedom to Read," endorsed by the American Book Publishers Council and the American Library Association, June 15, 1953, declared: "The freedom to read is essential to our democracy. . . . It is in the public interest for publishers and librarians to make available the widest diversity of views and expressions, including those which are unorthodox or unpopular with the majority. . . . It is contrary to the public interest for publishers or librarians to determine the acceptability of a book solely on the basis of the personal history or political affiliations of the author." This manifesto has become known as "The Right to Read" statement.

### McCARRAN ACT INQUISITION

The Internal Security Act of 1950, sponsored by Sen. Pat McCarran (D., Nev.) and commonly known as the McCarran Act, is the statutory embodiment of McCarthyism. In its original form, when it first came before Congress as the Mundt-Nixon bill, it aroused tremendous opposition among all labor and liberal organizations and among many religious groups in one of the broadest and most powerful movements of resistance to oppression ever seen in this country. (See *Labor Fact Books* 10 and 11.)

Any organization that registers under this Act "confesses that it and its members are what the Act says they are—Soviet agents engaged in a world-wide conspiracy to overthrow all capitalist governments, including our own, by force and violence." (See John Abt, *The People vs. McCarthyism: The Case Against the McCarran Act*.) But if the organization refuses to register and "confess," it and its officers (and in the case of a Communist-action organization, its members) are punishable by a \$10,000 fine and 10 years in prison for each day that the refusal to register continues.

An order to register is, in fact, a sentence of outlawry against the organization. The Act itself contains a built-in verdict of guilty against the Communist Party, written into it by Congress. The "hearings" simply gloss over the verdict which the Subversive Activities Control Board is directed to approve.

The SACB ruled on April 20, 1953, that the Communist Party was a Communist "action" organization, "controlled by the Soviet Union" and thus required to register under the Act. Its hearings on this case had started in April, 1951. The Board's ruling was a built-in verdict, as charged by the defense, since the Board had no discretion other than to find as it did. Immediately after the Board's ruling, the Attorney

General's office sent letters to Communist leaders ordering them and all members of the organization to register and report on its contributors.

The CP case was appealed to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. Defense attorneys, the late Vito Marcantonio, John Abt, and Joseph Forer, argued that the Internal Security Act was an unconstitutional violation of the 1st and 5th Amendments.

**Twelve More Organizations:** Attorney General Brownell sent to the Subversive Activities Control Board April 22, 1953, a list of 12 so-called "front" organizations. He requested the Board to order the 12 organizations to register as "Communist fronts."

These 12 organizations were as follows: Civil Rights Congress; Jefferson School of Social Science; National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Labor Youth League; International Workers Order, a fraternal insurance society; American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which provides legal aid to people facing deportation under the Walter-McCarran Act; United May Day Committee; Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, whose members fought with the Spanish Loyalists against Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco fascists; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, set up to aid refugees from fascist Spain; Council on African Affairs; Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy; and the American Slav Congress.

**Jefferson School Case:** Attorney General Brownell, April 20, 1953, petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to have the Jefferson School of Social Science (New York) register as a "Communist front organization" under the provisions of the McCarran Act. Officers of the school promptly demanded that the petition be rejected. Hearings were started, November 25, 1953, to determine whether the school should be ordered to register. In a protest against the persecution of the school, 197 educators and other professional leaders issued a declaration filed on June 25, 1954, with Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr. They stated that "any attempt to suppress the teaching of Marxism in such an institution as the Jefferson School of Social Science represents a serious threat to all free inquiry."

Among those who testified for the school at the Board's hearings were Prof. Broadus Mitchell of Rutgers University and Prof. Robert S. Cohen of Wesleyan University. Dr. Howard Selsam, the school's director, testified that it gave courses on many subjects, usually from the Marxist viewpoint. The school maintains that it has a right to teach and the American people a right to learn the theoretical doctrines of Marxism,

and that Congress did not intend the McCarran Act to be applied to a school engaged solely in the teaching of ideas. But on December 30, 1954, the SACB received a recommendation from its chairman, Thomas J. Herbert, that it order the school to register as a "Communist front."

**Labor Youth League:** SACB hearings on the Labor Youth League started on November 30, 1953, and continued with intermissions until the end of April, 1954. Government witnesses included the usual paid FBI informers. To these were added a few special informers who had operated in the youth organization. One of them, Ann Steinberg of Boston, had been expelled from the Massachusetts LYL in 1950. Even these stool-pigeons were forced to admit that non-Communists could be and were LYL leaders.

Through its attorney Samuel Gruber and its leaders, Roosevelt Ward, Jr., Henry Wortis, Mary Ann Zeppetello, and Leon Wofsy, national chairman, the LYL argued that the SACB proceedings violate the First Amendment and that the McCarran Act "is the statutory embodiment of McCarthyism." U.S. Attorney Kirk Maddrix admitted in the final summary that the purpose of the hearing was to destroy the organization, not merely to make it register. He also admitted the LYL is not a stepping stone to membership in the Communist Party.

**Other Cases:** The Subversive Activities Control Board continued its attack on other organizations during 1954. Its hearings on the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship were held during May and early June, resumed in July and again in October. The National Council called as witnesses eight distinguished professors, ministers, and others who had been associated with the organization. These included Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Emeritus, University of Chicago and former Government Secretary of the Virgin Islands; Prof. Ernest W. Burgess, Emeritus, University of Chicago, former chairman of its Department of Sociology; and Prof. Ralph Barton Perry, Emeritus Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University. Although seven of the eight witnesses had been named by the government informer, Louis Budenz, as "members of the Communist Party," all eight denied past or present membership. All testified to their conviction that the Council's activities, aimed toward building a peaceful world, were in the best interests of the U.S.

SACB hearings on the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were held for many weeks during the summer and autumn of 1954. Members of the VALB told how thousands of young men from many other countries as well as the U.S. had gone to fight against the Hitler-



and Mussolini-aided Spanish fascists in 1936-37. They had recognized Franco's overthrow of the Spanish Republic as a forerunner of the fascist onslaught in other parts of the world.

Harvey Matusow, one of the chief government informers testifying against the VALB, and in other cases, was denounced at the hearings by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of the Methodist Church. Matusow had admitted to the Bishop (and to others) that he had repeatedly given false testimony.

In January, 1955, Matusow signed affidavits swearing that he had testified falsely against a number of defendants in the main Smith Act cases and in other cases. In his book, *False Witness*, he states that Roy Cohn and other government lawyers told him what to say in his testimony.

In hearings during February before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, Matusow classified Elizabeth Bentley, Paul Crouch, and Louis Budenz as in a category with himself in giving false testimony in committee investigations and in court cases. Matusow's confession was the first break in the lines of paid informers employed by the FBI and other government agencies. The whole system of such false testimony seemed shaken when in February, 1955, two other recanters, Mrs. Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson, confessed they had lied in the Federal Communications case against Edward O. Lamb, owner of a newspaper, the *Erie Dispatch*, and of radio and television stations in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Florida.

## DESTRUCTION OF INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

In December, 1953, after a legal struggle lasting over three years, the International Workers Order was dissolved as an organization by order of the New York courts. The State Superintendent of Insurance was given sole management and control of the IWO, removed the organization's leadership, dissolved the lodges, and continued the insurance business of the Order until September 1, 1954. On that date a reinsurance contract with the Continental Assurance Co. of Chicago went into effect, and the corporate existence of IWO ceased.

Starting with a membership of 5,000, the Order's program and benefits proved so effective that it grew to a high point of 182,000 in 1947. There were some 1,700 lodges in 21 states; in 1950 its membership was 162,000, with \$110 million of insurance in force and assets of over \$7 million. It had paid over \$17 million in cash benefits to members and had a solvency ratio of 141%.

The first attack against the Order came in the "subversive" listing by the U.S. Attorney General in November, 1947. This was appealed, resulting in a 5-3 decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, 1951, that the listing had been arbitrary and in violation of constitutional guarantees of due process.

In 1950, after six periodic and thorough examinations of the IWO without criticism, the Insurance Department produced an examiner's report which recommended liquidation of IWO on the ground that its continuation would be a hazard to the policyholders and the public. This action, instigated by N. Y. State Insurance Superintendent Bohlinger and Gov. Dewey, and the court proceedings which followed, can be understood only in the context of the Korean war hysteria with its red-hunting, attacks upon civil rights and the labor movement. On the flimsiest of legal grounds, the IWO was marked for execution.

New York Supreme Court Judge H. C. Greenberg granted an order of liquidation in June, 1951, after which the Order was under joint management of its officials and the Insurance Department. The Appellate Division and the N. Y. Court of Appeals upheld the decision. In October, 1953, the U.S. Supreme Court denied a writ of certiorari, thereby refusing to review the case and upholding the jurisdiction of the New York courts.

The reinsurance of the policyholders with the Continental was developed by the Insurance Superintendent without competition and resulted in large sums of policyholders' money being given to the company. However, those policyholders who elected to continue their IWO life insurance and sick benefits (some 75,000) had their contracts assumed by the company on the same terms and rates. Some 10,000 others elected to withdraw and receive a share of IWO assets.

Not satisfied with the complete destruction of the organization, Attorney General Brownell in 1953 instituted proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board, which resulted in the default order of January 14, 1954; that the IWO—after it had ceased to exist as an organization—be required to register as a "Communist front" under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. This would have had the effect of a mass conviction of every person who had ever been a member of IWO (estimated at 500 thousand, whose names are on public record) of subversion and disloyalty and subjected them to the penalties and disabilities of the Act, without a hearing or chance of defense.

An appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia was taken for five former officers and two rank-and-file members. The

court's decision, November 19, 1954, cancelled the registration order and instructed the SACB to dismiss the Attorney General's petition. The SACB complied.

The IWO Policyholders Protective Committee stated that this decision was "a vindication and a victory for the policyholders and members of the former IWO." This committee represented the membership of the Order in the struggle against liquidation, for an equitable reinsurance contract, and in the SACB fight.

## CONGRESSIONAL WITCHHUNTING COMMITTEES

**Jenner Committee:** Overshadowed by the continuous publicity given McCarthy's Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, two older investigating committees have nevertheless continued their harassment of trade union men and women, educators, ministers, liberal organizations, and other groups.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of which the McCarthyite Indiana Republican, William E. Jenner was chairman during the 83rd Congress, has held numerous hearings—using many of the same FBI paid informers that have served McCarthy and in the Smith Act trials. The Senate in January, 1954, voted the Jenner committee an appropriation of \$228,000 to finance its present witch-hunting drive.

Specializing in anti-labor activities, this committee listed seven unions as targets for its investigations but so far has carried out only a small part of its smear program. It ran into several road blocks when college teachers, union members and others refused to answer questions on their political affiliations on the basis of the 5th Amendment against self-incrimination.

In its formal report to the Senate in January, 1954, the Jenner Committee based its "findings" on tales that the informer, Elizabeth Bentley, first told to the FBI in 1949 and repeated before the committee in 1953. No proof was offered that the men labeled as "spies" had actually engaged in espionage of any sort. The report assumed the use of the 5th Amendment by any person is "proof" that the charge is therefore true. Yet it has been repeatedly demonstrated that persons wrongly accused may have good grounds for invoking this Amendment.

**Un-American Committee:** The House Committee on Un-American Activities, commonly known as the Un-American committee, headed in the 83rd Congress by Rep. Harold H. Velde (R., Ill.) spent \$300,000 in its 1953 witchhunting campaign, and was granted the same amount for 1954.

Many have lost their jobs in the committee's smearing campaign in the past two years in many areas. At hearings in Albany, N. Y., for example, in April, 1954, it used an FBI agent and informer, John Patrick Charles, to name 121 persons in Albany, Schenectady, Troy, and Syracuse as having been communists in the years 1946-1950. Most of these men and women who were still employed in that area in 1954, including teachers, trade unionists and others, lost their jobs as a result of the committee's inquisition.

### ATTACKS ON FIFTH AMENDMENT

The 5th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, part of what is known as the Bill of Rights, provides that "No person . . . shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." The history of this privilege against self-incrimination dates back some 300 years in Anglo-American law. It was originally instituted as a means of protecting a person against torture to make him talk, a common practice in medieval times.

**Immunity Act:** A measure to change the immunity provisions of the U.S. Code became law on August 20, 1954. It was an important item in Attorney General Brownell's 10-point program looking toward a police state in the U.S. The new law provides that when a witness before a grand jury or before Congressional committees declines to testify under the 5th Amendment, the Attorney General may request the Federal District Court to order that the testimony be given. Simultaneously, "immunity from prosecution" is granted to the witness in connection with anything he may say.

It is questionable whether the granting of such "immunity" would protect the witness himself from prosecution, but it certainly does not protect him from being ordered to answer about associates whom he may decline to name. And there is no way to guarantee that an individual state will not prosecute on the basis of the testimony. Under the new law, continued refusal to testify can result in prosecution for contempt of court, punishable at the discretion of the judge.

**Statement by Law School Dean:** One of the most important statements in answer to attacks on the 5th Amendment was made by Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School in a speech, February 5, 1954, before the Massachusetts Bar Association. He defended the 5th Amendment as a basic right.

"The privilege against self-incrimination," he said, "is one of the

great landmarks in man's struggle to make himself civilized. . . . The privilege against self-incrimination has been protection for freedom of thought, and a hindrance to any government which might wish to prosecute for thoughts and opinions alone." (See also *The Fifth Amendment Today*, by Erwin N. Griswold, Harvard University Press, and "Does Silence Mean Guilt?" by Laurent B. Frantz and Norman Redlich, *The Nation*, June 6, 1953.)

**Defended in Supreme Court:** In the Emspak case, the government prosecuting attorneys argued that any appeal to protection of the 5th Amendment carries an implication of guilt. This was sharply challenged by members of the high court, including Justices Frankfurter and Jackson. Frankfurter declared: "This is precisely the kind of interpretation that is too prevalent today. Far too many people consider that the use of the 5th Amendment carries an implication of guilt, including many people who ought to know better. You go back to the Department of Justice and tell them that the 5th Amendment is also a protection for the innocent."

## COMMUNIST CONTROL ACT

A measure entitled the "Communist Control Act of 1954," also known as the Humphrey-Butler Act or the Brownell-Butler Act, was rushed through the 83rd Congress in the final days before its adjournment and signed by President Eisenhower August 24, 1954. The vote in the Senate was unanimous. In the House only two representatives, Abraham Multer (D., N. Y.) and Usher Burdick (R., N.D.) voted against it.

The Act, which took the form of an amendment to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, declares that the Communist Party is denied "any of the rights, privileges and immunities attendant upon legal bodies created under the jurisdiction of the United States." The party is thus declared "outlawed."

The Act further declares that members of the Communist Party shall be subject to the penalties provided for members of "Communist-action" groups under the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act.) They cannot hold federal jobs or jobs in "defense" plants; they cannot get U.S. passports. They must register with the Attorney General or be imprisoned for five years and fined \$10,000.

The Act includes 14 points or "definitions" for determining a person's membership or participation in the Communist Party. These criteria are so vague and so broad that any person who was ever

remotely connected with any progressive organization or cause could be brought into the dragnet. These same 14 points were first compiled by Rep. Martin Dies (D., Tex.) some 15 years ago in the early days of the House Un-American Committee of which he was chairman.

**In Relation to Unions:** Under the Act, labor unions or business organizations found to be "Communist-infiltrated" are deprived of their legal standing before the National Labor Relations Board for collective bargaining purposes. The determination is to be made by the Subversive Activities Control Board on petition of the U.S. Attorney General. The findings are subject to court review.

A union will be found to be "Communist-infiltrated" if it is "substantially directed, dominated or controlled by an individual or individuals" alleged to be working for the world Communist movement now or within the past three years.

By another test, a union or other organization will be considered "Communist-infiltrated" if it is serving or has served as a means of giving aid to the Communist movement or as a means for impairing the military strength of the U.S. or its industrial capacity to provide what is required by its armed forces. Under the latter clause, any strike in a plant making military items could mark the union as "Communist-infiltrated."

This part of the Act embodies the former Humphrey-Butler bill, sponsored by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) and John M. Butler (R., Md.), and opposed by every major section of organized labor. Under it the Attorney General may file a petition charging that a union is "Communist-infiltrated." The SACB then holds hearings on the charges. If it determines that they are sustained, it can issue an order (subject to court review) which has the effect of destroying the union. The SACB is thus given authority to bar a union from using the NLRB.

Stripped of this right of appeal to the NLRB, a union would not be able to file complaints against an employer nor could it get on a ballot for a collective bargaining election. No union could survive unless it was approved, "licensed," by the political party in power. These anti-union clauses of the Act were obviously aimed at the independent progressive unions ousted in 1949 from the CIO. They have been among the most successful unions in winning higher wages and better working conditions and in protecting the rights of their members.

Not only labor union journals, but newspapers all over the country questioned the constitutionality of this Act.

**Effect on SACB Case:** By ruling of the Subversive Activities Control Board, April 20, 1953, the Communist Party was ordered to register under the Internal Security Act of 1950 (McCarran Act). This case was appealed in April, 1954, to the U.S. Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia and re-argued at the court's request, on October 21, 1954. The defense lawyers contended that the new Communist Control Act outlawing the party thereby nullified the Internal Security Act. A political party that had no legal standing under one law, they declared, could not be required by another law to register. But on December 23, 1954, by a 2-1 decision the Court of Appeals upheld the Subversive Activities Control Act, requiring the Communist Party to register.

### SMITH ACT CASES AND TRIALS

Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., boasted in a special signed article in the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* (Oct. 5, 1954) that 81 leaders of the Communist Party had been convicted under the Smith Act. In all, 115 persons had been indicted under this Act by the end of 1954.

Passed as the Alien Registration Act, 1940, this measure was introduced by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D., Va.), outstanding Southern reactionary. Its thought-control provisions make it unlawful to "conspire" to teach or to advocate the forceful or violent overthrow of the government or to organize a group so to teach.

On the indictments in these cases, A. L. Wirin, attorney for the Southern California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Sam Rosenwein of the N. Y. Bar Association, wrote in *The Nation* (Dec. 12, 1953): "No member or officer of the Communist Party has been prosecuted for the commission of any of these substantive offenses. Instead, the general conspiracy statute has been invoked (five years' maximum) with indictments charging only illegal agreements by the defendants in the future to advocate and teach, and to organize as the Communist Party. . . . The practice of the prosecution is to put on the stand a group of FBI paid informants and former members of the Communist Party to identify the defendants as members and officers of the Communist Party who were seen at various meetings of the party. . . . By this process of piling inference upon inference, juries have been convicting defendants who, so far as the record shows, never uttered a word while they were members of the Communist Party, or if they did, said only what many citizens are saying every day in the week."

**Communist Leaders Imprisoned:** First to be tried, convicted by

such methods and sentenced to prison were 11 Communist leaders, nine of whom were imprisoned. (See *Labor Fact Book 11.*) Their sentences ranged from five years for seven men up to eight years for Gus Hall. The latter, now in Leavenworth, Kan., was seized in Mexico in 1951 as a political refugee, tried in New York, and sentenced to three additional years (making eight in all) on a "contempt of court" charge. Robert G. Thompson, now in Atlanta, Ga., was seized as a political refugee in California in August, 1953, tried in New York, and sentenced to four years more for "contempt" in addition to his original sentence of three years.

**Appeal of the Thirteen:** Conviction of the second group of Communist leaders in New York under the Smith Act was upheld October 14, 1954, by the U.S. Court of Appeals in the district. The case was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The 13 with their sentences were as follows: To three years in prison and a \$6,000 fine for each, Alexander Bittelman, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, V. J. Jerome, Arnold Johnson, Pettis Perry, Alexander Trachtenberg, Louis Weinstock; to two years in prison and a \$4,000 fine for each, George Blake Charney, Betty Gannett, Al Lannon, Jacob Mindel, William Weinstone; to one year and a day in prison and a \$2,000 fine, Claudia Jones.

Attorneys Mary Kaufman and Harry Sacher, assisted by A. L. Wirin and former Judge Delbert E. Metzger presented the appeal to the highest court on a number of grounds. They argued that trial Judge Edward J. Dimock had told the jury they could consider as evidence against the defendants actions and declarations made by other persons not on trial but allegedly associated with the defendants. They also pointed out the absence during the trial of any evidence showing "clear and present danger" threatened by the defendants against the U.S. The petition argued also that the jury was improperly constituted and had been tampered with and that the defendants had been brought to trial in an atmosphere of hysteria and intimidation, manufactured largely by the government itself.

Defendants were continued on high bail pending this appeal to the highest court. Original bail of \$10,000 for each was raised to \$25,000. On January 10, 1955, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to hear the case and 12 of the 13 defendants started serving sentence on January 11, 1955. Louis Weinstock, after trial on a separate charge under the McCarran Act, was sent to prison February 3, 1955.

**Baltimore Six:** When the U.S. Supreme Court denied a writ of certiorari (permission to appeal) in the Baltimore Smith Act case, all



six defendants were sent to prison, January 27, 1953. The six and the sentences were: George A. Meyers, four years, Petersburg, Va.; Leroy Hand Wood, three years, Ashland, Ky.; Maurice Braverman, three years, Lewisburg, Pa.; Dorothy Rose Blumberg, three years, Alderson, W. Va.; Philip Frankfeld, five years, Atlanta, Ga.; and his wife, Regina Frankfeld, two years, Alderson, W. Va. She was released in October, 1954.

**Pittsburgh Cases:** Five leaders of the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, Pa., were convicted in the Federal District Court on August 20, 1953, and sentenced by Judge Rabe F. Marsh to five years each for "conspiring to advocate the violent overthrow of the government."

The five were: Steve Nelson, former chairman of the western Pennsylvania Communist Party; Benjamin Careathers, Negro leader, James H. Dolsen, correspondent for the *Daily Worker*; Irving Weissman, former chairman of the West Virginia Communist Party; and William Albertson, former labor organizer in the Pittsburgh district. Bail for all defendants except Careathers was increased; Dolsen's to \$30,000, and three others' to \$40,000 each. Careathers, free on \$20,000 bail, is seriously ill with tuberculosis. Cases of all five defendants were appealed to the Court of Appeals for the 3rd District.

Weissman and Albertson were sentenced to an additional 60 days in prison because they refused three times during the trial to name others as Communists. Andrew Onda, seriously ill with heart trouble, was also indicted in this case, but his trial was severed from the others.

**Los Angeles Fifteen:** Of the original 15 persons indicted in the Los Angeles, Calif., case, 14 were convicted in August, 1952, under the Smith Act thought-control provisions. Trial of a 15th defendant, Mary Bernadette Doyle, was severed because of her serious illness. Each of the 14 was sentenced to five years imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine.

Released on high bail ranging up to \$20,000, the 14 appealed their case to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The 14 were: William Schneiderman, chairman of the Communist Party in California, Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates, Frank Spector, Frank Carlson, Ernest Fox, Mrs. Rose Chernin Kusnitz, Al Richmond, Mrs. Loretta Stack, Carl Lambert, Ben Dobbs, Henry Steinberg, Mrs. Dorothy Healy Connelly, Philip Connelly, and Albert J. Lima. Mrs. Yates also appealed an additional four-year sentence on a "contempt" charge, for many times refusing to inform on others.

**Hawaii Seven:** All seven victims of the Smith Act in Honolulu,

Hawaii, were found "guilty." Six were sentenced by Judge Jon Wiig on July 3, 1953, to five years' imprisonment and a \$5,000 fine each. The seventh defendant, Mrs. Eileen Fujimoto, was sentenced to three years in prison and fined \$2,000.

The six were: Jack Hall, regional director of the Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, Charles Fujimoto, Koji Ariyoshi, editor of the *Honolulu Record*, Jack Kimoto, Dwight James Freeman, and Dr. John Reinecke. All were released on bail pending appeal.

**Seattle Case:** Four men and one woman in the Northwest were convicted of violating the Smith Act and were sentenced by Judge William Lindberg October 16, 1953, to the maximum term of five years in prison. In addition, one was fined \$5,000 and the others \$1,000 each. One of those indicted, Karly Larsen, former vice-president of district 23, International Woodworkers (CIO), was acquitted after he testified that he had left the Communist Party in 1946. Despite his acquittal, the union did not reinstate him in his union position.

Finally released on bail totaling \$105,000, the defendants appealed their case to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The five were: Henry P. Huff, Barbara Hartle, John Daschbach, Paul Miller Bowen, Negro leader, and Terry Pettus, Northwest editor of the *People's World*. A sixth defendant, William J. Pennock, died midway in the six-month trial from effects of the strain. Barbara Hartle during the trial turned informer and testified against the others.

In addition to the main Seattle case, John Daschbach, Terry Pettus, and Prof. Herbert Phillips, formerly of the University of Washington, were each sentenced to three years in prison for "contempt" because they refused to identify others.

**Detroit Six:** After a four-month trial starting in October, 1953, six persons in Detroit, Mich., were convicted of Smith Act violations and were sentenced by Judge Frank A. Picard on February 19, 1954, to long prison terms and fines of \$10,000 each.

The six and their sentences were: Nat Ganley, for 10 years business agent of Automobile Workers (CIO) Local 155, who received the maximum of 5 years; Helen Winter (wife of Smith Act victim, Carl Winter), 4 years; William Allan, correspondent for the *Daily Worker*, 4 years; Thomas D. Dennis, Jr., 4½ years; Saul Wellman, 4 years, 8 months; Philip Schatz, 4 years, 4 months. Their cases were appealed to the higher courts. Saul Wellman was sentenced to an additional 60 days and Philip Schatz to an additional 30 days—both for refusing during the trial to inform on others.

**St. Louis Case:** Five victims of the Smith Act in the St. Louis area went on trial in January, 1954. Convicted May 28, 1954, they were sentenced June 4 by Judge Roy W. Harper to long prison terms. James F. Forest, William Sentner, former Electrical Workers leader, Robert Manewitz, and Marcus A. Murphy, Negro leader, were sentenced to five years each. Mrs. Dorothy Forest was sentenced to three years.

Murphy, Manewitz and Forest were kept in prison for three months when Judge Harper refused bail on appeal, but all were finally released on bail of \$20,000 each, pending appeal.

At the Smith Act trial of William Sentner, UE international representative, in this St. Louis case, it was revealed April 7, 1954, that 11 stoolpigeons put on the stand by the Justice Department received a total of \$74,835.48, in addition to travel and other expenses, for their testimony, in this and other cases. The largest amount, \$19,000, went to professional witness John Lautner. Rev. Obadiah Jones received \$11,210, Paul Crouch, \$9,675, and Joseph Schoemehl, \$8,965.

**Ohio Case:** Ten persons were indicted in the Ohio case in October, 1953, and their trial was scheduled for 1955. Defendants were: Joseph Brandt, Robert Campbell, Martin Chancey, Lucille Bethencourt, Joseph M. Dougher, David Katz, Frieda Katz, E. C. Greenfield, Anthony Krchmarek, George Watt, and Frank Hashmall, already jailed for many months on an alleged violation of the motor vehicle registration law. (He was paroled later, as of June 2, 1955.)

**Other Indictments:** In Philadelphia, Pa., nine persons were convicted under the Smith Act on August 13, 1954, after a trial lasting nearly five months. As late as March, 1955, the judge had not ruled on applications for a new trial. The nine are: Joseph Kuzma, Robert Klonsky, Joseph Roberts, Benjamin Weiss, David Davis, Thomas Nabried, Irvin Katz, Sherman Labovitz, and Walter Lowenfels, poet and correspondent of the *Daily Worker*.

Seven Communist leaders in Connecticut were arrested May 29, 1954, and indicted in June by a federal grand jury under the Smith Act. The seven were: Sid Taylor Silverman, Alfred Marder, Sidney Resnick, and Joseph Dimow, all of New Haven; Jack Goldring, of Turnbull, James S. Tate of Hartford, and Robert C. Ekins of Old Saybrook. Held for many weeks in jail, they were finally released on high bail. Indictments against them were dismissed on February 23, 1955, by Judge Robert Anderson, on the ground that the jury panel had not been properly drawn. But the government entered new indictments against them.

In the Colorado case on August 1 and 2, 1954, the U.S. Department of Justice arrested seven Communist leaders: Arthur Bary, Anna Correa Bary, Harold Zepelin, Lewis Johnson, Patricia Blau, Joseph William Scherrer and his wife, Maia Scherrer. All were indicted under the Smith Act. Bail, at first set at \$100,000 for each, was finally reduced to \$15,000 for four of the defendants. But Arthur and Anna Bary and Lewis Johnson were held in jail for months, being finally released on bail totaling \$70,000 for the three. The trial started in April, 1955.

**Membership Clause:** The Smith Act includes under Title I, section 2, what is known as the "membership clause," making it unlawful for any person "to be or become a member of, or affiliate with, any such society, group or assembly of persons, knowing the purposes thereof." Such an assembly of persons consists of those who "teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of any government in the United States by force or violence."

Having interpreted this clause as describing the Communist Party of the U.S., the Department of Justice proceeded to arrest a number of leaders, including Irving Potash who had just finished serving 3½ years of a 5-year prison sentence; Claude Lightfoot, Chicago Communist leader; Albert Blumberg, legislative director of the Communist Party; Martha Stone Asher, New Jersey Communist leader; and Junius Scales of North Carolina. Potash was deported in March, 1955.

In the first of these cases to be tried, Claude Lightfoot was convicted by the jury in Chicago, January 26, 1955, after seven ballots. Eugene Dennis, John Gates, Jack Stachel, John Williamson, and Carl Winter were released from prison March 1, 1955, after serving more than 3½ years, only to be re-arrested under the membership clause. They were granted bail while awaiting trial on this second charge. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., released from the Terre Haute federal prison, was taken to Pittsburgh to serve a 60-day sentence for contempt of court because he had refused to name others as Communists.

**Harboring Case:** When Robert Thompson, Communist leader and decorated war hero, was seized as a political refugee in California in August, 1953, five other persons were arrested and charged with "harboring" him. They were held at first in exorbitant bail, ranging from \$20,000 up to \$75,000 for each.

The five are Sidney Stein, previously indicted in New York under the Smith Act; Carl Ross, Samuel Coleman, Shirley Kremen of Los Angeles, and Patricia Blau of Denver, Colo. They went on trial April 12, 1954, in Federal District Court in San Francisco before Judge Louis

E. Goodman. Patricia Blau was acquitted. Stein and Coleman were sentenced to three years each, Ross to two years, and Shirley Kremen to one year.

### STATE CASES AND TRIALS

**Nelson Case:** A 20-year prison sentence against Steve Nelson, Pittsburgh labor leader and a Spanish War veteran, was reversed on January 25, 1954, by the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court. He had been sentenced and also fined \$10,000, plus payment of all court costs of the frame-up, for violating the Pennsylvania Sedition Act of 1919. The 4 to 1 ruling by the higher court held that the federal Smith Act superseded the state law. The majority opinion written by Judge Charles A. Jones carried a rebuke to Judge Michael Musmanno, who had filed the original charges against Nelson. Judge Jones criticized the provision in the state "sedition" law which permitted private individuals to file the charges.

Nelson was put on trial in this state sedition act case in January, 1951, with James H. Dolsen and Andrew Onda, but his case was severed from the others after his leg was broken in an accident. Despite great physical difficulties, Nelson defended himself at a trial beginning in December, 1951, and ending with the sentencing in July, 1952.

Dolsen and Onda were convicted in this state case in August, 1951, after an 8-month trial. Dolsen, 68 years old, was sentenced November 2, 1953, by Judge Henry X. O'Brien to 20 years and a fine of \$10,000. He served nearly five months in the Allegheny County Workhouse, Blawnox, Pa., one of the worst prisons in the United States, before he was finally released March 19, 1954, on bail totaling \$20,000, pending appeal of his case.

Onda, hospitalized in New York with a serious heart disease, has not been sentenced. The heart trouble had undoubtedly been increased as a result of the persecution in Pittsburgh. Nelson and Dolsen, as noted above, were among the five Pittsburgh leaders sentenced under the Smith Act.

**Massachusetts Case:** On May 20, 1954, seven persons in Massachusetts were charged with "conspiracy to overthrow the government" of the state of Massachusetts under a state Anti-Anarchy law, passed in 1919 and amended in 1951. The Communist Party was outlawed in that state in 1951.

The seven were: Ann Burlak Timpson, Otis Archer Hood, Edith Ab-

ber, Barbara Rosenkrantz, Franklin P. Collier, Jr., Herbert I. Zimmerman, and Daniel Boone Schirmer (arrested a few days after the others).

Seized with Hood in the Massachusetts case was his valuable library of books, including the works of Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, William Z. Foster, Lenin, and Marx, children's literature, volumes of poetry and art, and various periodicals. Hood was already under \$10,000 bail on an earlier "conspiracy" charge.

At the trial of these books in Roxbury District Court in November, 1954, the District Attorney argued that they should be burned or otherwise destroyed as "subversive." But Edward O. Gourdin, a Negro jurist, ruled that the seizure of books and periodicals at Hood's home was illegal and that they must be returned to their owner.

**Frameup in Louisville:** In a fantastic frameup case under state criminal syndicalism and conspiracy laws in Kentucky (passed in 1922) five persons were brought to trial in Louisville, November 29, 1954. The five were: Carl and Anne Braden; I. O. Ford, 79-year-old retired riverboat captain; Vernon Bown, a member of the Teamsters (AFL); and Lewis Lubka, a member of the Electrical Workers (CIO). Braden was a copyreader on the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, on leave of absence during the trial.

The five were charged with "conspiracy" to blow up the home of a young Negro couple, Andrew and Charlotte Wade, which was bombed June 27, 1954. Braden had bought the house in an all-white neighborhood and deeded it to the Wades. After the bombing, which followed a KKK-type terror campaign, Braden joined in a general protest and a demand for police protection and investigation.

The investigation was turned into a witchhunt and indictments for "sedition" followed. State attorneys argued that the bombing was part of a "Communist" plot to "bring about a political revolution, to wit, to incite racial disturbance and hatred between the white and Negro races." A parade of discredited informers, including Benjamin Gitlow, Leonard Patterson, Matthew Cvetic, Maurice Malkin, and Manning Johnson, testified as state's witnesses but did not personally know the defendants.

On December 13, 1954, a criminal court jury in Louisville convicted Carl Braden of advocating "sedition." He was sentenced to a 15-year prison term and a \$5,000 fine. He has appealed the case. The trial of I. O. Ford and the others was postponed to November, 1955, pending high court decisions on the state sedition laws.

## SOME CONTEMPT CASES

**On First Amendment:** Harvey O'Connor, journalist, author of *Mellon's Millions*, *The Guggenheims*, and other books, testified under subpoena, July 14, 1953, before Sen. McCarthy's subcommittee. He refused to answer questions on his political opinions on the ground that "Under the First Amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books, and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee."

O'Connor did not claim the privilege against self-incrimination provided under the 5th Amendment. He was cited for contempt of the U.S. Senate, July 23, 1953, and was indicted by a federal grand jury October 16, 1953. O'Connor, who was formerly publicity director of the Oil Workers (CIO), was supported in his position by that union which pledged to support him "every inch of the way."

Corliss Lamont was subpoenaed and appeared, September 23, 1953, before the McCarthy committee. His book on *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*, published by Harcourt, Brace in 1946, had been listed (not quoted as McCarthy claimed) as a reference source in a pamphlet by the Military Intelligence Section of the U.S. General Staff. Lamont cited the protection of the 1st Amendment on freedom of speech and press and the three-way separation of powers in the U.S. government. He challenged the legal and constitutional power of the McCarthy committee to inquire into his political beliefs, or his personal affairs.

On October 14, 1954, Lamont, Albert Shadowitz, and Abraham Unger were indicted for contempt of the Senate by a federal grand jury. None of them had taken advantage of the 5th Amendment privilege on answers that might tend to incriminate them. Shadowitz, a New Jersey engineer, testifying under subpoena before the McCarthy committee, December 16, 1953, invoked the 1st Amendment in refusing to answer a number of questions. He quoted Dr. Albert Einstein as advising against any cooperation with such congressional inquisitions.

Abraham Unger, New York City lawyer, appearing under subpoena before the McCarthy committee, September 18, 1953, had similarly declined, on legal and constitutional grounds, to answer such questions.

**Emspak Case:** Julius Emspak, secretary-treasurer of the Electrical Workers (Ind.), was convicted of contempt for refusing to answer questions on his personal beliefs and associations put to him in 1949 by a one-man subcommittee of the House Un-American Committee. He was sentenced to six months in prison and a \$500 fine.

Emspak had invoked both the 1st and 5th Amendments to the U.S. Constitution in declining to answer such questions. In arguing his appeal before the U.S. Supreme Court in January, 1954, his attorneys sought a reversal of the conviction on the ground that it was a violation of both the 1st and 5th Amendments.

This case was the first ever heard by the Supreme Court concerning the Un-American Committee's power in the field of political association. The court is called upon to decide whether the 1st Amendment protects the rights of witnesses before Congressional committees. On June 7, 1954, the Supreme Court assigned Empsak's appeal for reargument but the case was postponed.

**William L. Patterson:** In an unprecedented example of double jeopardy for the same "offense," Executive Secretary William L. Patterson of the Civil Rights Congress was sent to prison twice in 1954 within a five-month period. He was charged both times with contempt of court for not producing records that he did not have.

Starting July 1, 1954, Patterson served a 90-day sentence in Danbury penitentiary. Upon release he was again confronted with the same demand for non-existent records. On November 19, 1954, he was again sentenced by Judge Edward Weinfeld to another 90 days and was sent immediately to prison. However, the U.S. Court of Appeals in a 2-1 decision, January 27, 1955, reversed this conviction and Patterson was released after serving 69 days.

**Inquisition in Miami:** Anti-Semitism seems to have been largely responsible for the witchhunt in Miami, Fla., beginning in May, 1954. A Dade County grand jury "investigating communism" subpoenaed over 200 persons, of whom 185 were Jewish. A chief target was the Jewish Cultural Center in Miami.

When 31 persons, all but two of whom were Jewish, refused to answer questions on their political beliefs, they were convicted of contempt and thrown into the Dade County jail on sentences of one year for each. Bail was denied by Judge George E. Holt who was as intolerant and lawless as Dade County State Attorney George A. Brautigam. The latter called before the grand jury for persecution any persons named in lurid articles appearing in the local *Daily News*. Among the 31 were seven women. On November 19, 1954, the Florida Supreme Court ruled on 14 of the cases that under the 5th Amendment to the Constitution the defendants could refuse to answer such questions. This decision had the effect of freeing all 31 persons. Despite this court reversal, however, terror and arrests have continued. Many are being re-arrested.



**In New Hampshire:** Paul Sweezy, former government economist and teacher at Harvard and Williams College, and now co-editor of the *Monthly Review*, first appeared on January 8, 1954, at a closed hearing before the New Hampshire Attorney General Louis C. Wyman. This was part of an inquiry into violations of the state's "Subversive Activities Act," passed in 1951. Sweezy in January and again on June 3, 1954, in a similar hearing stated that he had never been a Communist and had never advocated forcible overthrow of the government; but he declined to answer questions on his political ideas or associations.

At a court hearing, June 28, 1954, in the Merrimack County Superior Court of New Hampshire, Sweezy and Prof. Gwynne H. Daggett, associate professor of English at the University of New Hampshire, were ordered to answer questions or be cited for contempt. Daggett reluctantly answered. Sweezy, declining to answer, was convicted of contempt and sentenced to jail until he should purge himself of contempt. Released on \$1,000 bail, he appealed his case to the higher courts.

**Lawyers In "Contempt":** Harry Sacher of New York and Abraham Isserman of Newark, N. J., were disbarred because of their conviction and imprisonment for "contempt of court" in the 1949 trial of 11 Communist leaders before Judge Harold R. Medina. But in appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court, both lawyers won their cases. On April 5, 1954, the high court in a 6-2 decision overruled the permanent disbarment of Harry Sacher from federal courts. And on October 14, 1954, the Supreme Court in a 4-3 opinion reversed its previous action disbarring Isserman from federal practice. But it refused to reverse his disbarment in New Jersey courts.

George W. Crockett, Jr., Negro lawyer of Detroit, who served four months in prison for contempt of court in the same 1949 case, was publicly reprimanded November 12, 1954, by three Michigan Circuit Court judges. They sustained recommendations of the State Bar of Michigan.

## ROSENBERG FRAME-UP

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were electrocuted in Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N. Y., on June 19, 1953. Despite protests from all over the U.S. and from all parts of the world against their execution, President Eisenhower turned a deaf ear to all appeals.

New evidence had shown that David Greenglass, brother of Ethel Rosenberg, had perjured himself in his testimony against his sister and her husband. But the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review the

case on this or any other ground, as it had repeatedly refused in six earlier appeals. On June 17, two days before the execution, Justice William O. Douglas of the high court issued a stay of execution until the courts could hear and determine whether trial judge Irving Kaufman had the right to impose the death sentence. Under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, Justice Douglas pointed out, the District Court was without power to impose the death penalty unless the jury had so recommended. But Justice Douglas' stay of execution was hastily set aside by the action of Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson who called an unprecedented special session of the court, June 18, for that one purpose. The execution was carried out the next day.

Justice Hugo L. Black had supported Justice Douglas in the stay of execution, and Justice Felix Frankfurter later associated himself with Douglas and Black with the admission that the high court had never given time to an adequate consideration of the Rosenberg case.

Among the thousands who petitioned for the lives of the Rosenbergs were noted scientists. One of these, Dr. Harold Urey, atomic scientist, wired President Eisenhower, June 12, 1953, that Greenglass' testimony against the Rosenbergs was "patently perjured." Greenglass, who confessed to being a spy, presented the principal evidence against them, not supported by any other testimony, and was given only 15 years in prison while the Rosenbergs who maintained their innocence to the end, were given death. (See *The Atom Spy Hoax*, by William A. Reuben.)

In the closing days before the execution, the Rosenbergs were visited by Director James V. Bennett of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, on orders from Attorney General Herbert Brownell, offering to recommend commutation of sentence if they would "confess." They responded: "We will not be coerced, even under pain of death, to bear false witness and to yield up to tyranny our rights as free Americans." They left two young sons, then 11 and 9 years old.

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg had been indicted in New York City in 1950 and on April 9, 1951, were sentenced to death. They spent over two years in the death house at Sing Sing. Emanuel H. Bloch, defense counsel, who had spent three years in efforts to save them, died of a heart attack January 30, 1954, at the age of 52.

**Sobell Case:** Closely connected with the Rosenberg frame-up is the case of Morton Sobell, who was sentenced in April, 1951, to serve 30 years in prison. He has been held in Alcatraz, Calif., a prison reserved for murderers and hardened criminals. The National Committee to Se-

cure Justice in the Rosenberg Case is seeking to obtain a new trial for Sobell. In an analysis of The Rosenberg Case the *Columbia Law Review* (Feb. 1954) stated: "Even assuming the ultimate validity of the decisions, there is still doubt as to the propriety of deciding them with the extreme haste exhibited by the Supreme Court."

The noted scientist, Harold C. Urey, winner of the 1934 Nobel prize in chemistry, declared that in his opinion the Rosenberg-Sobell trial was "a bad example of American justice. . . . The evidence was given by confessed accomplices. No court reviewed the question of the reliability of witnesses." (*N. Y. Times*, Feb. 25, 1955.)

### ATTACKS AGAINST FOREIGN-BORN

Since 1952, anti-foreign-born hysteria emanating from the U.S. Department of Justice has served to intensify deportation, denaturalization, and other attacks on the rights of 11 million naturalized American citizens and 3 million non-citizens.

On March 17, 1953, the Attorney General announced that, using the provisions of the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, the Justice Department would seek to deport 12,000 non-citizens and denaturalize 10,000 citizens on political grounds.

One step to establish the administrative basis for carrying out this program was the move to militarize the personnel and organization of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. In May, 1954, Lt. Gen. Joseph Swing, Ret., with 40 years service in the U.S. Army, was appointed Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. In August, Maj. Gen. Frank Partridge, Ret., was appointed Assistant to Commissioner Swing. During December, the Commissioner announced a complete reorganization of the service along quasi-military lines, accompanied by extensive transfers of personnel from one part of the country to another.

Another action seeking to establish the political basis for mass deportations and denaturalizations was the Attorney General's petition filed with the Subversive Activities Control Board in April, 1953, asking the Board to order the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to register as a "communist front" organization under the McCarran Act, thus seeking to make illegal the one organization that, for 23 years, has fought to defend the democratic rights of foreign-born Americans.

An extremely significant development appeared in the continuing public demand for repeal or revision of the Walter-McCarran Act which

had gone into effect December 24, 1952. Hundreds of organizations and thousands of individuals have expressed their opposition to this law. As a result of this public sentiment, 32 members of Congress in August, 1953, introduced the Lehman-Celler bill, for repeal of the law. But the reactionary coalition in Congress effectively prevented any action on the bill in 1954.

**Frame-ups:** The most dangerous innovation created by the Walter-McCarran Act is in its provisions classifying failure by a non-citizen to comply with vague and apparently innocuous provisions as "criminal" violations of the Act, to be punished by fines and jail sentences. Among such actions are failure to report a change of address within ten days, failure to report one's address to the Attorney General during January, and failure to carry an Alien Registration Card on one's person at all times.

Knut Heikkinen, of Superior, Wis., was sentenced to serve ten years in jail, after a trial and conviction in April, 1954, for failing to make application for a passport after having been ordered deported to Finland. For Heikkinen, who is 64 years old, ten years in jail is virtually a death sentence. Mike Gates, of Philadelphia, was sentenced to serve six months in jail for failing to report his address to the Attorney General during January in 1952 and 1953. Appeals in both the Heikkinen case and the Gates case are pending.

**Deportations:** More than 340 non-citizens have been arrested in political deportation proceedings under the Walter-McCarran Act. Many of these non-citizens are over 65 years old, have lived most of their lives in this country, and have no relatives elsewhere. Most of them have spent their lives actively participating in the labor and progressive movement, and for this they now face deportation and forced separation from their families and friends.

During the past two years, about 1,500,000 persons have been deported to Mexico in the most extensive and dangerous mass deportation drive in U.S. history. Those deported (actually taken to the border and dumped into Mexico) had been arrested without warrants in the course of mass raids against Mexican communities in the U.S., denied the right to bail, denied the right to a hearing, and deprived of the right to consult counsel.

**Denaturalizations:** Proceedings to revoke the U.S. citizenship of more than 60 naturalized Americans were initiated by the Justice Department during the past two years. Under the Walter-McCarran Act, citizenship can be revoked on the flimsiest of grounds regardless

of the length of time a person has been a citizen. One of those facing denaturalization, for instance, is Isidore Begun, former New York school teacher, who became a citizen in 1924 and has been a citizen for more than 30 years. A significant denaturalization case started in 1954 is that of Harry Bridges, president of the ILWU, whom the Justice Department has been trying to frame on one ground or another for the past 20 years.

### KILLINGS AND FRAME-UPS OF NEGROES

Wanton shootings and killings of Negro workers by policemen and others have continued in all parts of the country. These killings of Negroes are not regarded as "lynchings" in the technical sense of that term. For the second straight year, Tuskegee Institute in Alabama reported at the end of 1953 that "no lynchings had been recorded in the United States." The Institute noted, however, the development of other extra-legal actions "such as bombings, incendiarism, threats and intimidations." The "lynchings" were carried out with guns and bombs instead of with ropes.

**Peonage in Alabama:** Four Negroes were held in slavery and one of them was beaten to death in May, 1953, on the Dial Farm at Boyds, Ala., near the Mississippi border. Seven white men, six of them members of the Dial family, were indicted by a federal grand jury, September 9, 1953, on charges of kidnapping and holding the Negroes in slavery.

Herbert Thompson, one of the Negroes who had tried to escape from the Dial Farm, was whipped so severely that he died two days later. Indictments against the Dials charged them with paying the jail fines of Negro prisoners and then forcing them to work out the payments in the fields. Fred and Oscar Dial were found guilty in federal court in May, 1954, on charges of keeping Negro workers in a state of "involuntary servitude and peonage." It was the first such conviction in the history of Alabama.

**Frame-ups of Negro Workers:** As part of the oppression of the Negro people in the United States, frame-up trials, "rape" cases, and executions of Negro workers take place every year in the South. But in other parts of the country also, Negro victims are framed-up and executed for "crimes" they did not commit.

Raleigh Speller, 51-year-old Negro, was executed May 29, 1953, in the state gas chamber in Raleigh Central Prison, N. C. He was convicted by an all-white jury of "raping" a white woman in 1947. No white man

has ever been executed in North Carolina for the crime of rape. Always maintaining his innocence, Speller tried for six years to get higher courts to review his case. The U.S. Supreme Court in April, 1953, by a vote of 7 to 2, with Justices Douglas and Black dissenting, ruled that Speller had been fairly tried. Clyde Brown, 22-year-old Negro, was executed on the same day, May 29, 1953, in the North Carolina gas chamber, also on a charge of "raping" a white woman.

Fletcher Mills, 27-year-old Negro fur unionist of Philadelphia, was extradited to Tuscaloosa, Ala., and sentenced in October, 1953, to 10 years in prison for defending himself against a white man. The case dates back to April, 1945, when Mills was a sharecropper in Alabama and complained because a white man's cattle were trampling his corn. The white man struck him and threatened to shoot, but Mills got away and went North. He was arrested by the FBI in Philadelphia but fought his case, with the help of the Civil Rights Congress, through nine state and federal courts and twice up to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Bennie and Lloyd Ray Daniels, Negro cousins 20 and 21 years old, were executed November 6, 1953, in the state gas chamber at Raleigh, N. C. Charged with robbing and killing a white taxi driver in 1949 and tried by an all-white jury, they had spent five years in the prison death house while their appeals to higher courts, one after another, were held up by technicalities or rejected. They were found "guilty" on the basis of typed "confessions" (although both were illiterate) in statements which they repudiated in court.

Walter Lee Irvin, 26 years old, last surviving defendant in the "Florida Little Scottsboro case," lost his plea for his life, March 23, 1954, when the Florida Pardon Board refused to reverse his death sentence. The Florida Supreme Court on June 23, 1953, had upheld his second conviction and death sentence in the Groveland "rape" frame-up case. Irvin was one of four Negroes accused in 1949 of assaulting a white woman. Two of his fellow defendants, Ernest Thomas and Samuel Shepherd, were killed by police guns while being taken to court.

**Wesley Wells:** Wesley Robert Wells, 44-year-old Negro prisoner in San Quentin Prison, California, was sentenced to die in the state gas chamber on April 9, 1954, for throwing a cuspidor at a prison guard. The guard had recovered. After he had spent six years in the death house, Wells' sentence was commuted by the California Supreme Court, on the recommendation of Gov. Goodwin Knight (R.), to life imprisonment without parole. This clemency was the result of protests initiated by the Civil Rights Congress in 1949, from thousands of Cali-

fornia unions, clergymen, and others. Wells has already served 25 years in prison for teen-age mis-steps.

### PERSECUTION OF TEACHERS

Three hundred or more teachers in schools and colleges in a number of states have lost their positions during the past three years as a result of witchhunting committees or of loyalty check-ups. At least 26 states now require loyalty oaths.

**In New York:** In New York City alone, over 200 public school teachers and college and university professors have been hounded out of their jobs for refusing to answer questions on their political beliefs. They were either suspended, dismissed or among those who chose to resign or retire rather than submit to the inquisition.

None was charged with using the classroom to indoctrinate, and only one (in 1950) was charged with membership in the Communist Party. None was confronted by his accuser or with any evidence of misconduct.

The N. Y. C. Board of Education, April 29, 1954, dismissed 15 public school teachers who had a total of 327 years of successful service behind them. The board's action was based on a report by Trial Examiner Arthur Levitt (now Controller of N. Y. State), recommending their dismissal while conceding that they had excellent professional records. Two more were dropped in June, 1954, one for allegedly lying about membership in the Young Communist League in 1941, when he was 18 years old.

Before these latest firings of teachers, there were 16 other trials in which all involved were dismissed. Three faculty members at Hunter College, who had admitted past membership in the Communist Party, were suspended April 12, 1954, by the Board of Higher Education because they refused to name others. In this and many other cases, a teacher was required to turn informer or lose his position. Many other faculty members in N. Y. City colleges were "under investigation" at the end of 1954.

In all, 32 N. Y. City teachers and college professors have been dismissed without charges or hearing as a result of Congressional investigations. All have been defended by the Teachers Union of the City of New York (Ind.).

**In Far West:** In Los Angeles five public school teachers, summoned before the city Board of Education in December, 1953, refused to answer questions on their political beliefs and were suspended from their

positions. Two other teachers were dismissed. In San Diego, Dr. Harry C. Steinmetz was dismissed from San Diego State College. Under California's new Dilworth Loyalty Act, all government employees who refuse to answer questions before investigating committees are subject to dismissal. In March-April, 1953, these teachers and others had been before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its Los Angeles hearings. Clinton St. John, an instructor at Orange Coast Junior College, was suspended from his position, October 12, 1953, because he refused to answer questions put to him by a special college "loyalty" board.

In Seattle, Wash., a teacher, Mrs. Hildur Jo Hughes, was questioned in August, 1953, before the city school board. Declining to answer questions, she said she stood on her record of 27 years of good teaching. But a majority of the board voted to dismiss her.

**In Other Areas:** In Massachusetts, two teachers, Anne P. Hale in Wayland and Charles Chase in Quincy, were suspended in May, 1954, after they had appeared before the Massachusetts Commission Investigating Communism.

In Philadelphia, the Board of Public Education, May 3, 1954, dismissed four more public school teachers as a result of witchhunting by the Un-American Committee. The board had suspended 26 public school teachers on November 20, 1953. By the end of June, 1954, all had been dismissed, although two and sometimes three board members had opposed the firings. Dr. Barrows Dunham, former head of the philosophy department at Temple University in Philadelphia, was first suspended and then dismissed in September, 1953, for refusing to answer questions before the Un-American Committee.

In Michigan, three University of Michigan faculty members, Drs. H. Chandler Davis, Clement L. Markart, and Mark Nickerson, in May, 1954, were suspended from their teaching posts by the president, Harlan Hatcher. The suspensions followed immediately after they had refused to answer questions regarding their political beliefs in an inquisition conducted by the Un-American Committee.

In Detroit, two faculty members, Dr. Gerald Harrison and Dr. Irving Stein, at Wayne University, (city-owned) were suspended in May, 1954, after their refusal to "cooperate" with the Un-American Committee at its hearings in Detroit. Several teachers in the Detroit public schools were also suspended, without pay, for the same reason.

In Denver, Colo., nine teachers were dismissed on orders of Gov. Dan Thornton (R.), without formal charges or hearings. The Colo-



rado Federation of Teachers (AFL), announced in May, 1954, that it had won hearings for five of the nine.

Sen. William E. Jenner (R., Ind.) as chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee held hearings in June, 1953, in Chicago. One University of Chicago instructor, Sidney J. Socolar and two research associates, Benjamin Solomon and Irvin Isenberg, subpoenaed at the hearings, all invoked the Fifth Amendment in declining to answer questions on their political beliefs. At the same hearings, Dr. Horace B. Davis, associate professor of economics at the University of Kansas City, and Dr. Ralph Spitzer of the same university, refused to answer such questions on the same grounds. Davis was suspended from his teaching position and later dismissed by the university which thus broke its contract with a faculty member. Spitzer resigned after the hearings.

At the Kansas State Teachers College, Prof. W. Lou Tandy was dismissed from his position in May, 1953, simply because he joined in a public petition to former President Truman to grant amnesty to Communist leaders jailed as political prisoners.

## IV. TRADE UNIONS IN THE U.S.

The total membership claimed by labor unions in the U.S. is now about 17 million, equivalent to nearly a third of all nonagricultural workers. Of this total, 10.3 million are reported to be in the AFL, and between 4 million and 5 million in the CIO. Nearly 2 million are in independent unions, including about 500,000 in railroad unions (those not in AFL), discussed below; around 600,000 in the United Mine Workers; and the rest in other independent unions.

A merger agreement signed by the AFL and CIO on February 9, 1955 (at Miami Beach, Fla.) brought together about 15 million union members after 20 years of separation. Independent unions were not included.

The two labor bodies agreed to create a single trade union center in America by a merger which "will preserve the integrity of each affiliated national and international union." Over 145 unions are included. President George Meany of the AFL will head the new federation for which no formal name has yet been announced. But the 34 unions now in the CIO go into it as a special department to be known as a Council of Industrial Organizations.

### 1953 AFL CONVENTION

Seventy-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor met at St. Louis, September 21-25, 1953, attended by 713 delegates representing a paid-up membership of 8,654,921 as of June 30, 1953. The convention took a strong position against the Eisenhower Administration based mainly on the White House repudiation of its agreement on Taft-Hartley amendments. AFL opposition was also expressed strongly against the giveaway program and the slashes in the social security, labor, housing, health and welfare programs.

The executive council report to the convention declared "There is every indication that the basic policies of our government are being overhauled to meet the desires of big business. . . . The actions taken by the first session of the 83rd Congress amply confirm such a conclusion."

**Pact With CIO:** The convention adopted a no-raiding pact with the CIO, not binding, however, on any union that fails to sign it. The agreement, said a *New York Times* report on the convention, "is regarded by both the federation and the CIO as an essential first step toward organic unity." The result of long negotiations, it stated that no union affiliated with either federation shall attempt to organize or to represent employees "as to whom an established bargaining relationship exists" between their employer and a union in either federation. The no-raiding pact was formally ratified in June, 1954.

**Expulsion of Longshoremen:** On the recommendation of the executive council the convention voted to expel the 60,000-member International Longshoremen's Assn. and issued a new charter for "an organization of longshoremen, under such conditions and regulations as will assure the conduct and control of said organization within its proper jurisdiction by the decent elements of the waterfront, free from racketeering, gangsterism, crime, and corruption." Pres. Joseph Ryan of the ILA, in his final appeal to the convention, before the expulsion, claimed he was guiltless and that above all, he had fought Communists.

**Taft-Hartley and Nixon:** Both President Eisenhower, who sent a message to the convention, and Vice-President Nixon, who brought the message, aroused the convention's hostility by their position on the Taft-Hartley law. Prior to the convention Secretary of Labor Martin P. Durkin, President of the Plumbers, had resigned from his cabinet post when the White House reneged on its agreement to send to Congress 19 amendments on Taft-Hartley which he had worked out in agreement with the Administration.

Nixon's address was met with silence and some derisive laughter and ironic applause. "The reaction of the Federation convention to Mr. Nixon was unmistakable hostility," the *Wall Street Journal* (Sept. 24) reported.

**No New Blood:** All the officers of the federation were re-elected. In discussing the nomination of vice-presidents, Hugo Ernst, President of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees, told the convention the federation was making a serious mistake in not giving Negroes and women the positions of leadership they deserve. He said: "I feel that in the interest of the advancement of our labor movement, we must put in some new blood. . . . Surely among the hundreds of thousands of women that are members of the various organizations, there must be some women that would be fit to represent that particular segment of our industry or our labor movement," on the executive council of the federation. The same,

he said, applied to Negro leadership, and that the federation would suffer unless minority groups win positions of responsibility. But no women or Negroes were nominated. The delegates to the convention included only 21 women (9 of them from national union affiliates, the remainder from local bodies with one vote each) and seven Negroes, three of them from the Sleeping Car Porters.

**Cold-War Policy:** The convention in general supported the Eisenhower-Dulles cold-war policies but there was more opposition than before to appeasement of fascist dictators and to the Adenauer government in West Germany, especially for the latter's interference with the labor movement in that country.

The convention went on record against any diplomatic recognition of or economic assistance to the People's Republic of China and urged instead that the U.S. sign pacts with the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Formosa and the Rhee government of South Korea.

### 1954 AFL CONVENTION

Seventy-third annual convention of the AFL met at Los Angeles, September 20-27, 1954, and was attended by about 750 delegates representing 99 national (and international) unions, 4 departments, 42 state branches, 146 local central bodies, 44 local trade and federal labor unions, and 2 fraternal delegates. Total membership of all unions represented at the convention was said to be 10.2 million. Largest unions in the federation, based on per capita dues payments, are the Teamsters, which had grown larger in the past year, followed by the Carpenters and the Machinists.

**CIO Greeting:** For the first time since the CIO split off from the AFL in 1935 a letter of fraternal greetings from the CIO was read at an AFL convention. In his letter Pres. Reuther of the CIO praised the AFL-CIO no-raiding pact, which became effective June, 1954, as a "heartening trend towards the elimination of friction in the American labor movement." The convention resolution stated: "The more peaceful atmosphere resulting from the no-raiding agreement should permit negotiations for unity to move forward with dispatch."

**Jurisdictional Disputes:** For the first time in its history the AFL adopted a master plan for peaceful settlement of internal jurisdictional disputes. It would apply to disputes involving raiding, disputes in which one union seeks to obtain for its members work being performed by or assigned to members of another union, disputes over the right to perform work not theretofore assigned to any particular union, and disputes

regarding which union should attempt to organize unorganized workers in a particular plant or industry. When the unions involved are unable to settle the matter by mutual agreement an arbitrator is agreed to and his word is final.

**Economic Program:** Executive council offered a program, which was adopted, calling for construction of schools, hospitals, roads; long-range public housing; tax reductions for low-income families; increase in minimum wages; strengthening of unemployment compensation system; encouragement of collective bargaining. It also included a long-term program to enlarge farm income.

**Eisenhower Address:** President Eisenhower was the first president of the U.S. to address an AFL convention since Herbert Hoover in 1930. Eisenhower said that the AFL "history of absolute opposition to communism in all its forms, in whatever way it may pose its threat, is to me a heartening thing, and at least in that we are one, and I am certain there is no difference possible between us." He boasted of the "new legislation" as well as old being used "in uprooting any possible trace of this terrible conspiracy."

Before the President's visit to the convention it had adopted what A. H. Raskin of the *N. Y. Times* (Sept. 24, 1954) called "a slashing attack on the record of the President's Administration," charging it with having established "government of, by and for big business."

Executive council report declared that neither the Administration nor Congress had done anything to increase the purchasing power of the great mass of consumers. "Events have confirmed our warnings of a year ago that big business has taken over the driver's seat in Washington. . . . The Administration and its majority in Congress granted huge tax benefits to corporations and investors. They gave away the nation's off-shore oil resources. They gave away development of electric power from atomic energy to private industry. On the other hand campaign pledges to labor and the farmer have been brazenly broken."

**Foreign Policy:** Continuing the AFL's traditional opposition to socialism, the resolution on foreign policy, based on the executive council report to the convention, warned against what it termed "the Moscow-Peiping 'co-existence' maneuver" as well as "Soviet subversion and domination." It called for "the reduction to a minimum of trade with the Soviet orbit" and warned of "fraudulent Communist peace campaigns." It also repeated its opposition to admission to the United Nations of what it called the "foreign-imposed Mao Tse-tung regime"

into the United Nations. It criticized a recent trip to the Soviet Union and China by British Labor Party leaders.

**Condemn McCarthy:** A resolution on Sen. McCarthy condemned his conduct "as unworthy of the American tradition" and reported that since his first election in 1946 he had voted "against the interest of working men and women on every single major issue including questions of minimum wages, social security, public housing, the Taft-Hartley law, control of inflation, education, taxes and civil rights."

### 1953 CIO CONVENTION

Fifteenth annual convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations met in Cleveland, Ohio, November 16-20, 1953, attended by 561 delegates. Not more than eight of the delegates were Negroes and there were no Negro delegates from the Auto Workers or Steelworkers, comprising more than half of the CIO membership.

**Organization Report:** Pres. Walter Reuther reported that during the fiscal year July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953, CIO unions participated in 2,141 elections in which 464,451 employees were eligible to vote. Of these, the CIO unions won 1,114, representing 217,165 employees. The gain in total CIO membership since the last convention was put at about 450,000.

**No-Raid Pact:** The convention approved a no-raiding pact with the AFL after Pres. Reuther noted that in a period of two years there had been 1,245 raids between AFL and CIO unions, not counting raids made by either of them on independent unions. The Teamsters (AFL) were charged with doing more raiding than any other AFL union, and the Machinists (AFL) were also charged with much raiding.

The resolution endorsing the new no-raiding agreement said, in part: "We believe that raids between unions endanger the welfare of the workers as well as the public interest. Most raids fail, creating only a residue of unrest, dissatisfaction and disunity among the workers involved."

**Taft-Hartley Stand:** Despite an appeal by Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell praising the Taft-Hartley Act and urging the CIO to be "realistic" about it, the convention declared itself "pledged to devote all of its energies and resources to seek the repeal of the unfair and unjust Taft-Hartley Act." It held "that President Eisenhower and his Administration are not keeping his solemn pledge to the American people to amend Taft-Hartley so as to make it a just, fair and decent law."

**Legislative Program:** The convention declared that at the next session of Congress it would press, among other measures, for: positive planning of an economic program to promote an expanding economy; improvement of Fair Labor Standards Act, including a minimum rate of \$1.25 an hour; improvements of the social security laws and higher unemployment benefits; enactment of a national health program; uniform standards and codes for industrial health and safety and workmen's compensation; a large housing program; revision of tax structure and opposition to any type of sales tax; a farm program including reasonable price supports, farm credit, soil conservation; re-establishment of a lending agency to help small business; restoration of appropriation cuts in the Rural Electrification Administration; increased protection for civil liberties; and replacement of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

**Political Affairs:** Report of the convention in the U.S. Department of Labor's *Monthly Labor Review* (Jan., 1954) said that "Political affairs combined with criticism of the national administration appeared to be the dominant interest" of the convention. The grievances "were expressed in Pres. Reuther's report, in many of the resolutions offered . . . and in statements from the platform and the floor. The resolution on political action, which catalogued the CIO's criticism of the national administration and the 83rd Congress, elicited 11 supporting speeches from the floor, more than any other resolution. . . ." It authorized the collection of a voluntary contribution of \$1 a year from each CIO member.

**Civil Liberties and Internal Security:** As usual, the resolution on this subject dealt extensively with "Russian aggression" and the "Communist threat," but then went on to state that McCarthy, McCarran, and Jenner "consciously and deliberately seek to exploit for their own ends the fear of Soviet aggression. . . . Their arsenal is the half truth, and the big lie."

Concerning government security and loyalty investigations the resolution contended: "The time of thousands of FBI agents continues to be wasted. To date, no single instance of espionage, or of improper use of government documents, has ever been disclosed by these loyalty and security investigations."

The resolution called on Congress to review and revise the Smith Act and the Subversive Activities Control Act, and expressed its "continued opposition to any laws or activities of Congressional committees which restrict freedom of thought, press, assembly or association. . . ."

## 1954 CIO CONVENTION

Sixteenth convention of the CIO met in Los Angeles, December 6-10, 1954, attended by over 500 delegates, representing a membership of around 4.6 million. Pres. Reuther reported that one new union was added to the CIO during the year with the affiliation of the Mechanics Educational Society, with 52,000 members.

In the year ended June 30, 1954, he reported, CIO unions had participated in 1,455 collective bargaining elections, covering 279,837 workers, 745 of these elections having been won by CIO.

Among the larger CIO unions he reported that the Auto Workers now had 1.4 million dues-paying members; the Steelworkers had 1,157,658 members employed by 2,030 companies now covered by contracts; the Textile Workers in the last year won elections and certifications for 10,000 workers in 84 plants; and the Clothing Workers continued "its steady growth and progress."

**Unity with AFL:** The convention instructed CIO officers to proceed full speed with efforts to merge with the AFL. In connection with the merger move it was pointed out that the signing of no-raid pacts during the last year was an indication of the intention to merge on the part of unions in both federations. Already 30 out of the 33 CIO unions had signed such pacts and 75 out of the 111 AFL unions.

The officers were directed to work out a merger "based on the principles of free democratic unionism." In his report to the convention, Reuther said the CIO was "looking toward the establishment of a type of unity that will stimulate growth, not result in stagnation. We seek to advance—not to abandon—principles upon which the CIO was created and grew."

**Political Action:** Report of CIO Political Action Committee said that in the 1954 election the PAC "had worked well with the AFL and other bona fide political organizations." Also, in many areas PAC "is now recognized as one of the major sources of support for liberal candidates and its recommendations are given weight by voters not members of unions but interested in supporting liberal candidates."

Pres. Michael J. Quill of the Transport Workers charged that the CIO had become the tail to the Democratic Party's kite and urged consideration to building "a really and truly independent political party of CIO," first on a state and then on a national basis. Although once a strong advocate of a labor party himself, Pres. Reuther opposed



the proposal, contending that every try for a third party in the past "has failed miserably." He held that such a party is not needed in the USA because there is no "highly fixed and class society" as in Europe.

**Economic Policy:** Resolution on economic policy called for increased wages (including annual wage guarantees wherever feasible); tax legislation to strengthen consumer buying power (with personal exemptions in federal income tax law eventually raised to \$1,000); raising of the federal minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour; strengthening of Social Security Act and inclusion of a system of national health insurance; increase in amount and duration of unemployment compensation; a minimum of two million housing units a year for the next 20 years to eliminate slums and substandard housing and to meet the needs of the growing population; strengthening of farm programs including price supports; a liberal credit policy especially to encourage small business; a national full employment program supplemented by special assistance to chronically distressed areas such as the hard coal regions of Pennsylvania, old textile towns of New England, and mining towns of Southern Illinois.

The resolution called for a "comprehensive public works program," including schools, hospitals, roads, airports as well as other public service facilities.

**Witchhunt Hits Factory Worker:** In his annual report to the convention Pres. Reuther said the position of government workers and employees of plants producing armaments "has further deteriorated within the past 12 months." Noting the charge of the Republicans that 7,000 "security risks" were found among government employees, he reported that "not a single one of the alleged 7,000 security risks was found to be a member of the Communist Party." He noted that defense plant workers must now sign "under penalties of perjury" as to whether they have belonged, or associated with any person who belonged, to any of the 240 organizations now on the attorney general's "subversive" list. He expressed fear lest information on these questionnaires come into the hands of employers "who might utilize the 'derogatory' information thus gained by them against militant union men."

**Civil Liberties:** The convention declared: "Now is the time for a counterattack on the civil liberties front." It proposed that Congress appoint a joint committee "for the purpose of investigating infractions of civil liberties throughout the land." It urged that this committee "review all Congressional legislation over the past forty years dealing

with the Communist problem." One purpose of this review would be to remove from the statute books "all federal legislation limiting what people can think and say."

It declared that the portion of the Communist Control Act of 1954 which calls for "the branding and busting of 'Communist-infiltrated' unions constitutes a dangerous first step toward state control of all trade unions."

**Welfare and Pension Funds:** The convention adopted a report by the committee on ethical practices which took a strong stand against any form of racketeering with welfare funds. It also called for the formulation of standards for welfare funds, and, "if demonstrated to be necessary," legislation to insure honest administration of such funds. The reforms called for included auditing of funds at least semi-annually; no compensation to fund trustees or administrators already on a union payroll; abolition of fees to insurance brokers who perform no service.

## LONGSHOREMEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union reports it is a strong and going concern five years after being expelled from the CIO, after 20 years of attempts to deport its President, Harry Bridges, after Taft-Hartley suits totaling close to \$8 million, and after innumerable raids by other unions, especially the Teamsters (AFL).

The West Coast longshoreman, the union reports, now earns an average of \$2.85 an hour, over \$100 a week and over \$5,000 a year. He gets an annual vacation of three weeks. He and his family have comprehensive medical coverage and most recently, his children are covered by a pilot dental program until their 15th birthday. He can look forward to a pension of \$100 a month plus Social Security, with continued medical coverage for life. There are now more than 1,700 pensioners, better than 10% of the work force.

Longshoremen in Hawaii in the past two years won a contract bringing within early reach their goal of wage parity with their West Coast brothers; they won a comprehensive medical plan and a pension plan which pays \$75 a month above Social Security. Men, particularly Filipinos, who desire to return permanently to their home country, are entitled to receive their accumulated pension benefits in a lump sum.

The union's 10th biennial convention in April, 1953, voted to make 1953 "Warehouse Year." San Francisco warehousemen went on to win a wage increase and a welfare plan. Terminal workers in Oakland won a \$100-a-month pension plan.

A convention resolution on the war economy asked for "the development of some alternate programs" including large-scale trade with China and other countries and increased spending for housing, hospitals, schools, and power projects. Another resolution attacked the McCarthyites who "are turning even fellow Senators and Congressmen into scared rabbits" through blacklists, blackmailing, and wiretapping.

The International Executive Board at its meeting in February, 1954, urged locals to work for a lifting of the embargo on China and for extended world trade, and to cooperate wherever possible with other unions and with businessmen to achieve this end.

At its meeting in September, 1954, the Board denounced the Brownell-Butler Act, interpreting it as an attempt to take away from the rank and file the right to run their union: "We do intend to fight with every resource at our command any attempt to prevent this union from continuing to make its own policies as its members decide."

June 15, 1953, brought the second U.S. Supreme Court decision in favor of Harry Bridges and, this time, of his associates Robertson and Schmidt. This ended the 4th frame-up case against Bridges. Four days later, Jack Hall, ILWU Hawaii regional director, was convicted under the Smith Act. Twenty-four thousand island workers downed tools in protest.

In July, 1953, came the first threat of another Bridges case and on December 28, Warren Olney III, chief of the criminal division of the Justice Department, announced his intention to move again against Bridges. The case is a civil suit to take away Bridges' citizenship, obtained in 1945 following the first Supreme Court decision in his favor. If the government is successful it can then institute administrative proceedings to deport Bridges.

The ILWU longshore division has kept in close touch with longshore developments on the East Coast. ILWU recognizes the potential threat of the New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission to West Coast hiring halls, and is seeking to work out a common contract expiration date with the East Coast. During the New York strike in the spring of 1954, a delegation from Brooklyn locals of the International Longshoremen's Assn. (Ind.) visited the West Coast and addressed local meetings. ILWU locals sent more than \$10,000 to aid the striking New York longshoremen.

The West Coast had a visitation from the House Un-American Committee in 1953-1954. In San Francisco, in December, 1953, they were greeted by a 24-hour work stoppage by the longshoremen and by an

ILWU mass meeting in front of City Hall where the hearings were taking place.

### MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers made many gains for its members in the past two years in the face of a barrage of attacks from employers, government agencies, and raiding unions. It won impressive wage increases and welfare benefits, established a closer working unity with other unions in the industry, and played a decisive role in the election of liberal Congressmen in the Rocky Mountain area. It also helped produce a prize-winning film, "Salt of the Earth," based on the life of some of its members, and strengthened its internal structure through establishment of a Canadian Mine-Mill Council and the election of additional representatives of minority groups to its International Executive Board.

Bargaining settlements won in each of the last two years (1953, 1954) came to over 8c an hour on a package basis. Company-wide strikes against Kennecott Copper and Anaconda Copper, in 1954, wrested notable welfare benefits, in addition to wage increases, from these industry giants.

The two-week Kennecott strike won a new insurance plan with a unique "major medical benefit" feature. In addition to relatively liberal regular benefits the company is required, in cases of major illnesses, to pay 90% of all charges over and above "covered" charges up to maximum of \$5,000. Dependents, for the first time, are also covered under the plan. The company pays all costs over employee contributions—\$1 a month for single employees, \$3.50 for an employee with dependents.

A nine-week strike against Anaconda brought a major revision of the existing pension plan. Benefits were raised to \$1.75 a month for each year of service up to 30 years, in addition to Social Security benefits. Previously, the plan contained a minimum—usually also a maximum—guarantee of \$100 a month including Social Security. Also gained was an increase in "permanent disability" benefits to not less than \$70 a month.

**Raids:** Mine-Mill suffered over 40 raids in these two years, of which 35 resulted in NLRB elections. In elections held in its basic jurisdiction bargaining rights were retained for some 17,500 workers and lost for 2,300. Over 14 different unions raided Mine-Mill; most frequently involved were the Steelworkers and the Auto Workers, both CIO.

The Steelworkers were defeated in their attempts to capture two key Anaconda locals, the Butte miners and the Anaconda smeltermen, in Montana. After the initial blitz in which the steel union took over all but one officer of both locals, Mine-Mill members rallied to support their unions. In an election in March, 1954, for a combined unit of the two operations, Mine-Mill beat the Steelworkers by a two to one margin.

In another Anaconda election, involving the subsidiary American Brass plant in Torrington, Conn. in July, 1954, the Steelworkers and UAW opposed each other as well as Mine-Mill. Final results were: Mine-Mill—435; USA—188; UAW—177. A year earlier, UAW was similarly rejected in elections held at the Torrington and Ansonia operations of American Brass.

**Government Attacks:** Government agencies, in recent years, have made clear their intention to either cripple or destroy the 62-year old Mine-Mill. The Department of Justice and the NLRB have taken over where the McCarran Committee, in its hearings in July, 1952, left off. Five days before the 1954 Congressional elections Secretary-Treasurer Maurice E. Travis was indicted on six counts for alleged falsification of his Taft-Hartley affidavits of 1951 and 1952. Travis had signed his first affidavit in 1949 and six more since.

A few months before this indictment the NLRB, in an obvious misuse of its powers, had issued a trial examiner's report with the incredible finding that Travis had falsified his affidavit in 1949 and that the union membership was aware of this. The report, in effect, found that every single Mine-Mill member was part of a conspiracy to falsify the union's compliance with Taft-Hartley. The NLRB hearing on which this report was supposedly based, was ordered after a previous trial examiner's report finding that the company involved in the proceeding, the Precision Scientific Co., had been guilty of unfair labor practices in refusing to bargain with Mine-Mill, the duly certified representative. Instead of enforcing this finding, the Board perverted its procedure into a witch-hunting expedition.

In February, 1955, Travis resigned his union post after the NLRB ordered the union decertified. The Board, however, agreed later to kill its own order, bowing to a unanimous ruling of the U.S. Court of Appeals which had thrown out the Board's decertification of the Fur Workers (Ind.) on similar grounds. On February 24, 1955, the Court took the same action in the Mine-Mill case and ordered the Board to return the union to full compliance with the Act.

The union is also defending Clinton E. Jencks, convicted of falsifying his affidavit of April 1950. In 1950 Jencks had been president of Local 890 in Bayard, New Mexico. Under his leadership the local had successfully fought numerous actions against discriminatory treatment of Mexican-American workers including the 15-month strike against New Jersey Zinc. The picture, "Salt of the Earth," is based upon events of this strike. The sole testimony linking him with alleged "communist" activities after the date on which he signed the affidavit was given by Harvey Matusow, a professional government witness, who later admitted he had lied.

**Labor Unity:** The union's 1953 St. Louis convention took action to urge members in properties in which Mine-Mill has lost bargaining rights to join whatever union now holds such rights in order to strengthen the common fight against the employer.

The union has also been successful in effecting working arrangements with other unions in bargaining and political action. It helped create the National Anaconda Conference in which representatives of 18,000 workers from AFL, UE and Mine-Mill locals, for the past two years, have met to formulate common demands and coordinate all negotiations with the company.

Similar arrangements, on a lesser scale, have also been worked out with AFL unions in various Kennecott properties.

## AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOCIATION

The officers' report to 12th biennial convention of ACA held in Atlantic City, November 11-13, 1954, described wage gains in the past two years "far beyond the pattern established in the nation's major industries," and the achievement of the highest wage rates for domestic and international telegraph workers anywhere in the U.S.

During 1954 alone, the union won increases for Western Union workers ranging from 5c to 42c an hour, established a system of periodic fully automatic progression increases, eliminated major wage inequities which had plagued the workers since 1951, increased severance pay scales, raised minimum pension benefits, won other improvements in the pension plan, and increased other welfare benefits.

Wages, hours, and working conditions under the ACA's contract with RCA Communications, Inc., are the best in the entire communications industry, according to the report. Contracts negotiated in 1953 and 1954 provided direct money benefits averaging 20c an hour, ex-

tended welfare benefits to messengers, established a special severance pay schedule in the event of layoffs resulting from mergers, and increased premium pay.

In 1953, the union's contract with Western Union Cables provided increases ranging from 8c to 14c an hour, increased night differentials, and enlarged the differential area. It also improved a pension plan which was already one of the best in the country. Under the two-year contract signed in April, 1954, WU Cables workers who were not at the maximum would receive 12c an hour in 1954 and 12c an hour in 1955. Those already at the maximum would get 9c in 1954 and 6c in 1955. In addition, the current agreement increased the overtime pay area, further improved the pension plan, and guaranteed jobs and wage rates of all employees in the event of merger in the industry. Comparable improvements were won in wages and conditions of employees of other companies under ACA contract.

During the same two-year period, the report to the convention noted, the union conducted a major campaign successfully blocking job-killing mergers in the international radio and cable industry; engaged in a broad-scale drive which blunted Western Union's program of wholesale branch office closures; and won a vital court decision protecting all unions from grand jury smear "presentments," and another court decision preventing the NLRB from harassing unions by requiring additional affidavits not specified under existing law. In addition, the union successfully counter-attacked Congressional committees attempting to smear it.

Resolutions of the 1954 convention demanded a Congressional investigation of the Federal Communications Commission which was charged with violating the public interest and furthering the profit-interests of the industry; called for the repeal of the Brownell-Butler law, the Taft-Hartley law, the McCarran Internal Security and Immigration acts; and scored current governmental attacks on basic constitutional rights.

#### UNITED ELECTRICAL WORKERS (UE)

During 1954 the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America (UE), representing some 300,000 workers in the electrical, radio and farm equipment industry, continued its fighting program on the collective bargaining and political action fronts. One of its major campaigns in 1954 was against the Brownell-Butler legislation which is used to wage war against labor's rights.

During 1954 also, UE led an active campaign against the runaway shop, calling for a national Congressional investigation into the runaways "which threaten not only workers in our industry and in many other industries but in community after community which is laid waste by the runaway employer." A high point in the fight against the runaway was the campaign made by 1,400 American Safety Razor workers in Brooklyn, N. Y., whose employer moved to the non-union South. ASR workers mounted a national "Don't Buy ASR Products" campaign aimed at forcing the company at least to pay pensions and severance pay to its stranded employees.

In collective bargaining, despite the deep split in the labor movement in the industry, UE was successful in winning an average increase of 5c an hour for its workers, as well as other gains. National agreements were signed in 1954 with General Electric, Westinghouse, Sylvania and General Cable companies.

With Taft-Hartley paralyzing organization activities, UE was subject to much raiding by other unions. During 1954 the union defeated raids of other unions at various plants of General Electric, Ingersoll-Rand, Westinghouse, Worthington Pump, Edison Industries, Columbia Records, Blaw-Knox, A. S. Campbell and Fairbanks, Morse. The GE plant at Schenectady was lost when the local UE leader was frightened by McCarthy and the Un-American Committee into the redbaiting CIO union.

UE has continued its work for fair employment practices. Today, over 87% of its contracts contain no-discrimination clauses, protecting against discrimination for race, creed, color or national origin. The union scored major victories in lifting women's rates toward the common labor level in General Electric, Edison Industries, Picker X-Ray, Master Electric and scores of other plants.

The union called two major national conferences on the problems of working women. At the second national conference, in 1954, attended by over 500, the dominant theme was the necessity for women to become more involved in political action to fight wage-cuts, speedup, runaway shops and repressive legislation.

## **FUR AND LEATHER WORKERS**

The International Fur & Leather Workers Union, in a special referendum completed in February, 1955, was scheduled to merge with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters (AFL) despite opposition from AFL top leaders. A special convention of IFLWU at Atlantic City, January 20-



22, by a near-unanimous vote had approved a merger agreement which provided that its 70,000 members would constitute an autonomous department of the Meat Cutters, including also the 6,000 members of that union already working in leather tanneries; that the autonomy and finances of all IFLWU locals would be protected within the union; that full representation would be given the new department on the union's executive board, and that the field staff of IFLWU would continue to service fur and leather workers.

Merger negotiations had begun in October, 1954, on the initiative of the Meat Cutters, following a series of unsuccessful efforts to win NLRB elections in leather tanneries under contract with IFLWU. Before the merger negotiations, the fur union had won many strikes and election victories against raids from both CIO and AFL unions. During 1953-1954 it gained wage increases averaging 7c an hour. Current wage average of \$1.90 an hour in IFLWU tanneries contrasts with the 63c tannery average before IFLWU organization in 1939. Despite severe economic depression in the fur industry and employer demands for wage cuts, average hourly earnings of fur workers in major New York manufacturing centers had been maintained at levels above \$3.50 an hour.

Such gains were reported by the IFLWU in spite of a series of attacks from rival unions and government agencies. Following the conviction of IFLWU Pres. Ben Gold in April, 1954, on charges of false statements in signing 1950 Taft-Hartley affidavits, these attacks had been intensified. An attempt of NLRB officials to decertify IFLWU, on the basis of Gold's conviction, has been stayed by union success in winning action from federal courts declaring the Board without power to deprive the union of its rights.

## RAILROAD WORKERS

Employment on the U.S. railroads in 1954 averaged about 1,062,000, some 144,000 less than in 1953. Since the peak war year 1945, about 358,000 persons—or more than a fourth of those who had rail jobs then—have been eliminated from the industry, with the employment trend continuing downward. (See our monthly bulletin, Railroad Notes.)

The great majority of rail workers belong to unions, either in the independent brotherhoods of operating workers or in shop craft unions, mostly affiliated with the AFL. Membership in the four independent operating brotherhoods is as follows: Locomotive Engineers, 60,000;

Locomotive Firemen & Enginemen, 98,000; Railway Conductors, 38,000; Railroad Trainmen, 215,000. Over 400,000 are thus in the "Big Four" brotherhoods. Among the largest railroad unions affiliated with the AFL are Railway Clerks with 300,000 members; Railway Carmen, 185,000; and Maintenance of Way Employees, 183,000.

**Negroes in Rail Industry:** In November, 1954, the Northern Pacific Railway became the first major rail company in the U.S. to sign an agreement for fair employment practice. Chairman George H. Revelle of the Washington State Board Against Discrimination called it the most significant victory yet won by any state anti-discrimination body. The big railroad pledged that it will not refuse to hire or promote because of race, color, or creed.

Another important FEPC victory was won in November, 1954, by more than 100 Negro workers on the Central of Georgia RR. They testified they had been denied seniority rights by the company and by the RR Trainmen when they tried to train and bid for certain jobs held exclusively by white workers. The federal court in Birmingham, Ala., ordered the road to stop all discrimination, and the company and the unions were instructed to pay the Negro trainmen an amount equal to the difference between what they had been paid and what they would have received if they had had equal rights in the year preceding the filing of the suit.

Just before the 1954 election, protests of rank-and-file Negro victims of Jim Crow and cases of discrimination brought by the NAACP began to register with the Washington authorities. As a result, the following special anti-discrimination clause was inserted in government contracts, to be signed by all rail companies in order to qualify for carrying U.S. mail and freight. "In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees not to discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, religion, color, or national origin."

The National Negro Labor Council during 1954 carried on a special campaign to end the widespread discrimination against Negro workers in the brotherhoods and in the rail industry. It published a valuable pamphlet, *Let Freedom Ride the Rails*.

**Against Union Shop:** The year 1954 saw litigation against the union shop instituted by a number of rail companies. Generally, these suits attack the validity of the union shop amendment to the Railway Labor Act, claiming it was an unconstitutional exercise of Congressional legislative authority over interstate commerce, and that state

"right-to-work" laws forbid union shop agreements. State and federal courts have rendered a number of decisions, both for and against the union shop, and the AFL Railway Employees' Department reported in September, 1954, that it might be necessary to refer some of these cases to the U.S. Supreme Court.

**Changes in Social Insurance:** Amendments to the Railroad Retirement Act, effective July 1, 1954, provide that the widow of a rail worker will now be able to receive survivor benefits at age 60 instead of 65 as formerly; for a disabled child unable to work, a pension will now be provided regardless of age.

The new amendments raise from \$300 to \$350 a month the wage base on which rail workers and companies each pay a 6¼% tax. This increase in the wage base provides somewhat higher retirement and survivor benefits in the future for only about one-third of the active workers—those now earning over \$300 monthly. A retired railworker may now earn up to \$100 a month without affecting his retirement benefit instead of the previous \$75.

Benefits under the RR Unemployment Insurance Act were raised from the previous maximum of \$7.50 to a top of \$8.50 a day. The worker's benefit for unemployment or sickness will be not less than one-half his regular pay on his last railroad job in the preceding year, up to a maximum of \$42.50 a week. The new measure does not, however, lengthen the 18-week period (130 days) for which benefits are paid.

**Hourly and Weekly Wages:** On August 24, 1954, the 14 unions representing some 900,000 "non-operating" rail workers, won broad health and welfare benefits, seven paid holidays, and a third week of vacation after 15 years. This agreement became effective December 3, 1954—some 18 months after negotiations opened.

A wage increase of 5c an hour, inclusion of the escalator increase of 13c in the basic rates, and a third week of vacation, won in December, 1953, by the Trainmen, have since become the recommended 'pattern' advanced by the President's Emergency Board in cases involving rail employees.

Weekly earnings of railworkers averaged \$80.32 in September, 1954, and stood 102nd in the Bureau of Labor Statistics' list of production workers' average weekly earnings in more than 300 industrial groups. In hourly earnings, rail workers are still lower in the scale, averaging \$1.94 an hour in September, 1954, or 125th in the list of industrial groups. Ahead of them are such groups as steel workers, with an average of \$2.27 an hour; automobile workers, \$2.24; and metal miners, \$2.08.

## UNION WELFARE FUNDS

At least 11,290,000 workers in the USA were covered by some type of health, insurance or pension plan under collective bargaining in early 1954. This was a rise of more than 3,600,000 since mid-1950. About 45% of workers covered were affiliated with AFL, nearly 43% with CIO, while the remainder were members of independent unions. The total does not include the 900,000 railroad workers in "non-operating" crafts who won a contributory health plan by agreement in August, 1954, with the railroad companies.

For most of the workers covered by the labor department survey, the cost of the benefits was paid entirely by the employer. This included nearly 85% of those under pension plans and 62% of those covered by health and insurance benefits. Employers' contributions to union welfare plans are deductible as a business expense if they are approved by the Bureau of Internal Revenue. In a number of such plans, the employers contribute 3% on their payrolls to the industry welfare fund.

At the CIO 1954 convention, a report on health, welfare and retirement programs showed that 4,549,000 workers were covered by life insurance programs negotiated by the CIO; 2,233,000 were covered by accidental death benefits, 4,495,000 by sickness and accident benefits, 4,623,000 by hospitalization. The number covered by surgical benefits was reported as 2,851,000, by medical benefits 2,221,000, and by pension benefits 3,283,000.

At its 1954 convention the AFL reported that "the failure of the Congress and the Administration to take constructive action to help make good medical care at reasonable costs available to workers and their families means that workers must continue to rely primarily upon health and welfare plans established through collective bargaining."

Among the better known union health benefit plans are those of the Clothing Workers (CIO), Ladies Garment Workers (AFL), West Coast Longshoremens and Warehousemen, and the United Mine Workers (Ind.). The UMW's welfare fund in its medical and hospital program paid out nearly \$56,500,000 in 1953 for 250,000 cases, including the mothers of 25,000 babies. A survey by the Social Security Administration showed that the UMW fund spent 97.1% of the money set aside for medical and hospital care on actual benefits to members and their families.

In the New York area in 1954, the State Insurance Fund investigated

135 union welfare funds and turned up 20 that were "badly run," 41 that were "subject to serious criticism"; and 73 "really good." The investigation concluded that most union officials showed responsibility in handling welfare funds but that a few did not.

Following this investigation, the CIO took drastic steps and five locals of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union were suspended by that organization. One that resisted was expelled from the RWDSU for refusing to accede to the appointment of an administrator for the local. The CIO Committee on Ethical Practices voiced the general position of the labor movement when it declared "We have been determined from the outset that the administration of welfare funds should meet the highest ethical standards for the handling of fiduciary funds."

## V. LABOR RELATIONS AND STRIKES

### STRIKES IN 1953

About 2,400,000 workers were involved in 5,091 strikes and lockouts in 1953, the U.S. Department of Labor reported. This compared with a total of some 3,540,000 involved in 5,117 stoppages in 1952.

Including all strikes and lockouts, man-days idle during 1953 totaled 28.3 million, or less than half the 59.1 million man-days during 1952. Smaller total in 1953 reflected absence of any large and long industry or nationwide walkouts, such as 1952 steel strike.

In over 55% of the 1953 strikes major issue was wages and hours, while over 22% involved other working conditions, including shop conditions and policies, job security, and work load.

Only one strike in 1953, that of the California construction workers, involved over a million man-days of strike "idleness," as against six such strikes in 1952. But in 1953 each of 28 strikes involved 10,000 or more workers, and six of these large strikes, besides that in California, continued for more than a month.

Three short strikes of Auto Workers (CIO) in January and February involved 16,000 workers at Briggs Mfg. (Detroit) against excessive work loads; 11,500 at Hudson Motor (Detroit) against discharge of union member; and 17,000 at South Bend for other gains. The same union won a longer strike (Oct.-Dec.) of 32,000 against North American Aviation, Los Angeles and Fresno, Calif., and Columbus, O.

Some 36,000 members of Rubber Workers (CIO) won two-day strike in April against U.S. Rubber in 11 states. Similar gains—wage increases and fringe benefits—were won for 25,000 at Firestone plants in seven states in August.

**Long Construction Strikes:** Three AFL building trades in Kansas City (both Missouri and Kansas) were on strike for 71 days beginning May 11, the longest strike reported in 1953. These 22,500 strikers won wage increases ranging from 7½¢ to 12½¢ an hour for painters. In addition they won slightly larger employer contributions for life insurance and hospitalization funds.

Construction workers in northern and central California, organized in Hod Carriers (AFL), struck June 3 and remained out 41 days. As-

sociated General Contractors of America in that area responded with lock-out and holding up of all construction, so that some 60,000 workers were either on strike or locked out. Strike ended with a wage increase of 15c an hour. In Utah, some 10,000 construction workers in six AFL unions struck June 2-29. They won immediate wage increases ranging from 5c to 15c an hour and smaller additional increases effective January 1, 1954.

Other strikes of construction workers included some 30,000 workers in two AFL building trades unions at Detroit who were out from May 1 until mid-June, some even longer. They won increases in wages of 12c an hour for carpenters and 12½c an hour for painters; also increases in employer contributions for life insurance funds and hospitalization benefits.

**N. Y. Newspaper Strike:** Photo-engravers, organized in Photo-Engravers Union (AFL) struck November 28 against six New York dailies to enforce demand for a \$15-a-week increase in wages; other issues were hours, holidays, pensions, and welfare. Members of printing trades locals and of the Newspaper Guild (CIO) refused to cross picket lines. Also, on third day of strike *Herald-Tribune* suspended publication because its workers refused to handle news offered by struck papers as advertisements.

Strike ended December 9 when union tentatively accepted \$3.75 increase and setting up of a fact-finding board to consider other demands. Publishers agreed to offer similar gains to other newspaper crafts, together with a new one-year pact for all crafts starting the day work was resumed. Several weeks later, March 2, 1954, board decided that wage increase should be limited to \$3.75. AFL Pres. George Meany dissented, urging a larger wage increase and a reduction in working hours. Engravers and the six newspapers signed contract, March 10, 1954, for weekly package increase of \$3.75 and a 36¼-hour week.

**Can Strike:** Some 33,000 members of Steelworkers (CIO) in over 70 container plants, including five in Canada, December 2, 1953, shut down about half of the nation's output of cans and containers. Both American Can and Continental Can were involved. Workers demanded elimination of wage differentials which meant lower pay for women than men on similar jobs and lower pay in southern plants than elsewhere. They wanted also a raise in wages paid to new workers. After more than a month of striking, both companies granted a general raise of 8½c an hour with additional 3c to reduce differential against women and southern workers.

**Hat Strike:** A strike at Norwalk, Conn., of 1,500 members of Hatters (AFL), against Hat Corp. of America, began July 8, 1953, over company's plan to transfer part of its work from Norwalk to other areas. Union demanded a three-year job security clause for any workers who might suffer from closing down of a department.

The Norwalk plant re-opened in December but with very limited operations as the strike continued. In February, 1954, AFL Pres. George Meany said its executive council would back the hat workers as part of nation-wide fight against runaway shops. The company said it intended to continue Norwalk operations as a major part of its production. The long strike ended in late May, 1954, with agreement on a 3-year contract signed by the company and the union. It provided "in principle" for company-financed pensions (details to be worked out), additional paid holidays, and severance pay for any displaced workers. Company dropped an injunction and damage action it had brought against union and agreed that all workers must join it.

## STRIKES IN 1954

About 1,500,000 workers, and only about 22 million man-hours of work, were directly involved in the 3,450 strikes that began in 1954, the U.S. Department of Labor estimated in preliminary reports. This represented a one-third drop from 1953 in the number of strikes and involved fewer workers than in any previous year since the end of World War II.

Wages and related matters were the main issues in most of these strikes but several involved other working conditions, including job security, work load, and protests over government action.

Although fewer large strikes occurred in 1954 than in either of the two preceding years, there were 18 major stoppages, each involving 10,000 or more workers. AFL unions were involved in nine of the major strikes; CIO unions in six; and independents in four. Strike of 60,000 West Coast lumber workers included both AFL and CIO.

**Construction Workers:** In Far West, northern Idaho and eastern Washington, 7,000 AFL carpenters, millwrights and pile drivers were on strike for a month, from mid-January to mid-February, 1954, backing their demand for higher wages. They won a 5c-an-hour increase from January 1 and an additional 10c to be effective from July 15. The new journeyman scale from the latter date is \$2.75 an hour. In western Washington a new health and welfare program was won by 17,000 carpenters without a wage increase.



In May, 20,000 building trades workers in Philadelphia were out for 25 days in a jurisdictional dispute. After a 17-day strike in May, 19,000 carpenters and joiners in southwestern Michigan won wage increase of 12½c an hour and double time for Saturday, Sunday, and holiday work. A wage increase of 12½c an hour was won also by 15,000 building trades workers in Cleveland, Ohio, area, after a strike of eight days in May. In July, 30,000 carpenters and joiners (AFL) in southern California area were out for 3 days and won wage increase of 7½c an hour, plus increased employer contributions to union's health and welfare fund. A strike of 12,000 plumbers and pipefitters in Kansas City area, starting September 7, lasted 91 days, with a final settlement providing increases of 15c an hour more for plumbers and 12½c an hour for pipefitters.

**Longshoremen:** In the New York-New Jersey area some 25,000 longshoremen in International Longshoremen's Association (Ind.) walked out March 5, 1954, in a strike for recognition of union and renewal of contract. This was in spite of a federal injunction against any strike.

Port operations were practically suspended, although the union as well as eight locals and officials of three locals were cited for both civil and criminal contempt. Men were forced back to work March 30 by another federal injunction. On August 27, 1954, after a year's bitter struggle with newly formed AFL longshoremen's union, the ILA was certified by National Labor Relations Board as collective bargaining agent for 25,000 dock workers in New York port. For two days, October 5 and 6, about 20,000 members of ILA (Ind.) were again on strike and won a wage increase of 8c an hour.

**Lumber Workers:** A strike of lumber workers in the Northwest began June 21, involving three locals of Woodworkers (CIO) in plants at Rosenberg, Eugene, and Willamina, Oregon. Many workers had already gone out ahead of this strike date. Union demanded 12½c-an-hour wage increase, 3 weeks vacation after 5 years, and other improvements. By June 21, over 60,000 workers, both CIO and AFL, had come out in Washington, Oregon, and Nevada.

After 17 years of separate negotiations, Woodworkers (CIO) and Lumber & Sawmill Workers (AFL) had pledged to help each other in case of strike. Several joint AFL-CIO committees functioned to aid in obtaining strike relief from other unions and from welfare agencies. After 84 days, both AFL and CIO workers voted in September to accept a settlement with an increase of 2½c an hour. A special panel

appointed by governors of Oregon and Washington recommended wage increase of  $7\frac{1}{2}c$  an hour for Northwest lumber industry as a whole, but in January, 1955, this had not yet been ratified by employers.

**Rubber Workers:** Some 23,000 members of Rubber Workers (CIO) at 10 plants of Goodyear Tire & Rubber in nine states struck July 8, 1954, for pay increases of more than the 5c an hour offered by company. After 51 days they signed an agreement for wage increase averaging  $6\frac{1}{2}c$  an hour. About 21,000 rubber workers in Firestone plants were on strike from August 13 for 23 days and also won the same increase. Other leading rubber companies, which had averted strikes by accepting negotiations, later signed similar agreements.

**Square D Strike:** Some 1,200 workers, members of the Electrical Workers (Ind.), were on strike against Square D Co., Detroit, June 15-Sept. 29. They won wage raise of 4c an hour plus 1.2c in fringe increases, a seventh paid holiday, and increased vacation benefits. Union accepted a no-strike clause, but this did not stipulate that it would be penalized for any stoppage. All but two of the 27 strikers who had been fired by company were reinstated with back pay.

Square D had tried to break strike by proclaiming that union was a "Communist" organization, and Circuit Court Judge Frank Ferguson tried to stop picketing with an injunction. But this did not hold back Auto Workers (CIO) rank and file and several UAW officials from joining picket line and giving aid to strikers' relief fund. UAW's Tool & Die Council warned its members that any journeyman worker would have his union card revoked if he crossed the picket line. Other local unions (both CIO and AFL) aided the strike fund.

**Copper Strike:** Some 10,000 workers led by the Mine-Mill Workers (Ind.) struck, August 16, against Kennecott Copper in Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico. Within a week, strike spread to include some 20,000 workers employed by Anaconda Copper in Montana, Arizona, and Idaho, and to workers employed in Connecticut and New York by Anaconda subsidiary, American Brass.

Kennecott strikers returned to work September 1, having won package increase of over 8c an hour, including 5c in straight wage boost, 3.6c added to health and welfare contributions from the company, and a slight increase in shift differentials. This settlement was followed by a brief stoppage (and similar gains) at American Smelting & Refining. At Phelps Dodge El Paso refinery, workers were out for six days before company granted similar increases at all its plants. On October 12, Anaconda settled on similar terms.

**Atomic Energy:** CIO atomic energy workers at Oak Ridge, Tenn., struck for higher wages in July, 1954, and returned to work after four days without gaining their demands. Negotiations continued without success, and on August 12 for a second time Gas, Coke & Chemical Workers (CIO), planned a strike to back up demand for pay boosts of 15c to 19c an hour. But the U.S. District Judge immediately issued a Taft-Hartley injunction barring a walkout from either Paducah, Ky., or Oak Ridge plants. Involved were some 4,500 production workers, and their strike was directed at Union Carbide & Carbon, which runs the plants for Atomic Energy Commission. President Eisenhower stated that no cessation of work could be tolerated on the atomic energy program.

Atomic Trades & Labor Council (AFL), representing 4,500 workers at two atomic research plants, meantime voted to accept 6c-an-hour wage increase retroactive to April 15. CIO workers were then awarded the same increase.

**N. Y. Trucking Strike:** Some 30,000 truckers, in 12 New York locals of Teamsters (AFL), struck October 16, 1954, against retail food stores and food trucking companies. Their demand for wage increase of 25c-an-hour had brought from most employers an offer of only 10c. Not involved in strike were some 434 smaller employers who had granted the increase.

After two days three employers (A&P, H. C. Bohack, and Food Transport serving the Gristede stores) signed up with a 25c-an-hour package increase retroactive to August 31, and 5,000 strikers went back to work October 18. The strike ended October 21 when the last of the big New York trucking companies yielded and granted the same 25c-an-hour increase.

**Packinghouse Workers:** In Boston, Mass., 750 members of Packinghouse Workers (CIO) struck October 27, 1954, against three local packing companies. Demands included a wage raise of 5c an hour, an additional 1½c an hour for women, and four weeks' vacation after 25 years employment. Two of the companies granted these demands in December and thus brought their plants to a level with major companies in the industry. But Colonial Provision Co. fought the union bitterly, brought in strikebreakers, and refused a settlement.

**Department Stores:** In Pittsburgh 800 truck drivers and helpers, members of the Teamsters (AFL), on Nov. 27, 1953, began a long strike against five major department stores, when managers proposed to drop from new contract two important provisions in former contract.

Drivers were joined in their strike by some 6,000 other employees, representing 11 other unions.

A settlement was reached, November 26, 1954, with drivers winning a part of their demands. Although it was agreed that the use of parcel post by the stores should not be allowed to involve lay-offs of teamsters, some 200 truck helpers were dropped, with severance pay ranging from \$300 to \$1,500. Wage settlement gave a pay raise of 5c an hour at once, with additional  $3\frac{1}{2}$ c an hour from February 15, 1955.

**Outstanding at 1954 Year-End:** Significant strikes started in 1954 but not settled by the year-end included: At Port Arthur, Texas, retail and wholesale store workers, undeterred by redbaiting attacks of Gov. Shivers, had been on strike for more than 13 months for wage increases. At Brooklyn, N. Y., plant of American Safety Razor Corp., Electrical Workers (Ind.), were involved in a sit-down strike which began September 30, 1954, against removal of plant to Virginia. The sit-in ended October 13 but the strike continued. At plant of the Kohler Co., Kohler, Wis., members of Automobile Workers (CIO) struck April 5, 1954, against company's refusal to bargain collectively. Company discharged strikers and still refused to bargain. National Labor Relations Board issued a complaint, October 27, 1954, charging company with unfair labor practices.

## TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

The Taft-Hartley Law, branded as blatantly anti-union when it was enacted over a Presidential veto in 1947, remains on the books practically unchanged in spite of President Eisenhower's campaign pledges to push revisions favorable to labor. It has continued to hamper organization, especially in the growing industries of the South, and has opened wide the door for government interference on the employers' side in labor disputes. That it stands unaltered after two years of Republican rule reflects the united front of employer and government groups and is a commentary on the divided state of labor on the industrial and political fields.

**Attempts at Amendment:** Following Eisenhower's suggestion in his inaugural address that revision was needed, hearings before Congress got under way early in 1953. Denouncing "labor monopolies," industry-wide collective bargaining, and all forms of union security, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce spokesmen presented 23 changes which would make the law more harsh. Union representatives generally ar-

gued for amendments. President Randolph of the Printers, Bridges of the West Coast Longshoremens, and Lewis of the Miners demanded that the law be wiped out completely.

In August Eisenhower leaked to a few key Congressmen his "staff bill" embodying 19 proposed changes. Elementary as the proposals were for a just and reasonable law, employers and business-minded government officials raised such a storm of protest that the bill was never sent to Congress. On September 10, Martin P. Durkin, declaring Eisenhower had failed to carry out his agreement to work for the amendments, resigned his post as Secretary of Labor, and returned to the presidency of the AFL Plumbers union, thus depriving the millionaire Cabinet of its labor window-dressing.

Just before Congress reconvened in January, 1954, the National Association of Manufacturers demanded that the law be "strengthened," and it laid down an 8-point plan, including more "free speech" for employers, barring strikes for union recognition, and "more effective measures against Communism and Communist-dominated labor unions."

On January 11 Eisenhower submitted a special message recommending 16 changes which, the *Wall Street Journal* said, included "two pleasant surprises for business but none for unions." The two pleasant surprises were proposals to give the states more authority to curb strikes that supposedly create "local emergencies," and to require a secret government-supervised strike vote before or soon after the start of any walk-out. Pointedly omitted was the 1953 proposal to make federal law paramount over state law in labor cases affecting interstate commerce. All the amendments died with the adjournment of Congress in August.

In his message to the 84th Congress, January 6, 1955, the President called again for two of his old amendments—allowing strikers for wages to vote in representation elections, and requiring employers as well as workers to file disclaimers of Communist affiliation. No mention was made of the one amendment which now is demanded above all others by the organized labor movement, namely, repeal of Section 14 (b) which gives state laws against union security precedence over the federal law if the state law is more restrictive.

**National Labor Relations Board:** The five-man National Labor Relations Board administering the Taft-Hartley Act now has a majority of three Republican appointees. They are Guy Farmer, chairman, former Washington attorney representing employers in labor relations

cases; Philip Ray Rogers, picked by Senator Taft for the position; and Albert C. Beeson, whose confirmation by the Senate was delayed by a debate over whether he had fully severed connections with a California corporation of which he was vice president in charge of labor relations. Under these men the Board has embarked on a series of new interpretations of the Act which in almost every instance are disadvantageous to the workers.

One such interpretation is the refusal to take jurisdiction in cases of concerns doing less than certain volumes of interstate business, ranging from \$50,000 a year for factories to \$3 million for power, gas, water, and transit utilities. (Breeding Transfer Co. and other cases.) Other industries affected are retail stores, restaurants, newspapers, radio and television studios, and office-building maintenance. This action throws thousands of cases into the states, where employer influence can be more directly exerted and where the spread of "right to work" laws and other repressive enactments endangers union security. Barry Goldwater (R., Ariz.), who unsuccessfully introduced in the 1954 Senate a proposal giving the states free rein in all labor matters, boasts that the Republican majority on the Board has given employers what they could not get from Congress.

Under a new decision an employer who assembles his employees on company premises and on company time, to listen to his speeches against organization, is in most cases no longer required to allow the union equal time to reply. He is now so required only if his speech is made within 24 hours of a representation election, or in the few places where union recruiting is forbidden on the premises even in non-working hours. (Peerless Plywood Co.)

Formerly held illegal, declarations that the factory will move, if the union wins the election, are now given Board sanction. (Chicopee Mfg. Co.) So also is the threat that the company will not recognize the union even if it is chosen. (National Furniture Mfg. Co.)

From the earliest days of the National Labor Relations Act the Board had ruled that employers have no right to question employees about their union membership. This protective rule the new Board has also rejected. (Blue Flash Express, Inc.) Formerly unions could seek and were granted recognition upon a showing of a majority of union membership cards. The current interpretation is that the employer may withhold recognition until after a formal election even though he has no doubt of the union's majority status. (Walmac Co.)

For some years the Board has been permitting severance of small

collective bargaining units from established units based on a plant or a company. This policy has more and more come to favor AFL craft unions and to discriminate against CIO industrial unions. After a hearing participated in by AFL, CIO, the Chamber of Commerce, and the NAM, the Board indicated that it would continue and even expand this "liberal" policy of craft severance. (American Potash & Chemical Corp.)

A further stand by the Board bars strikes during the life of all union contracts unless the contracts contain a reopening clause. (Lion Oil Co.) Mutual respect for picket lines is struck at by a Board ruling holding that if a picket line does not come within the permissive sections of the Act, workers of another union who refuse to cross it may be discharged. (Pacific Telephone Co.)

The Act as written does not list refusal to work overtime, slow-downs, or unannounced "quickie" walk-outs, as unfair labor practices by unions in the absence of a contract. Yet, when a union resorted to them to force an employer to sign an agreement after many months of unsuccessful negotiations, the new Board stamped these tactics as illegal. (Personal Products Corp.) A totally new departure of the Board is declaring that all members of a union, even those who are ill or on leave and in no way participate, are subject to discharge in case of a strike considered illegal. (Marathon Electric Mfg. Corp.)

All members of an employers' association may lock out their employees if the employees of some of them have struck. (Associated General Contractors.) An employer was sustained in paying non-union workers for time lost during a strike by a union. (Wagner Electric Corp.)

In a special study of these and other rulings of the Republican NLRB in *Economic Outlook*, February, 1955, the CIO concluded that "American workers face even more rigid restrictions today than those they suffered under the Taft-Hartley injustices which prevailed in November, 1952, when the new Administration was elected." And all this happened through policy changes of the Board "without changing even a word in the law." It added that the record of the Board "under Republican auspices now strikingly reveals how often those who 'interpret'—and not the Congress—actually make the law."

**Non-Communist Oath:** The Taft-Hartley law provides that unions whose officials have not signed valid non-Communist affidavits shall not be certified as collective bargaining agents, or may be decertified. The Board attempted to declare the independent Electrical

Workers, American Communications Assn., and Fur & Leather Workers out of compliance because 12 of their officers had refused to answer a New York grand jury's questions about the truthfulness of their non-Communist oaths, or to fill out Board questionnaires reaffirming the oaths. The Board's move was blocked by a restraining order issued by the District Court of the District of Columbia, which stated that the Board had no authority to inquire into the authenticity of the affidavits.

Next, starting on the Fur & Leather Workers, the Board announced a policy of deferring certification of a union if any of its officers was under indictment for allegedly filing a false affidavit. The District of Columbia Court of Appeals dismissed the Board's claim, declaring: "To impose this penalty upon the great mass of innocent members is as reckless as firing a shotgun into a crowd of people in an attempt to stop one who is picking their pockets."

The Board appealed both decisions to the U.S. Supreme Court, which on April 12, 1954, refused to upset them. (United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers; International Fur & Leather Workers.)

The Board is now taking the position that a union is not composed of "innocent members" but is out of compliance if the falsity of an officer's affidavit is presumably known to all through an article he published in the union paper. (Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.)

When the Supreme Court in 1950 upheld the requirement of non-Communist affidavits for union officials it threw around the requirement a number of safeguards. Chief among these was holding that the affidavit did not refer to any past conduct, nor to any current conduct other than membership in the Communist Party or support of an organization advocating violent overthrow of the government. For several years thereafter the Department of Justice held that it could not successfully prosecute under the Supreme Court ruling as it had no evidence that the leaders in question were members of the party after they signed. Under Attorney General Herbert Brownell this restraint has been abandoned, and a growing crop of indictments and convictions of militant unionists has resulted. Conviction carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison and \$10,000 fine on each of three counts.

**Prosecution of Union Officials:** Some trade union officials who have been persecuted under the non-Communist oath provision are:

Anthony Valentino, the first union leader to be convicted (1952) for violating the affidavit clause, was re-elected in 1953 to his post as business agent of Local 80-A, United Packinghouse Workers, CIO, in Camden, N.J. He later resigned, and is appealing his case with CIO support.



Hugh Bryson, of the west coast Marine Cooks & Stewards (Ind.), was the first national union president to be indicted under the new policy. The indictments came while the union was fighting off an intensive raiding campaign by the AFL and attacks by the Pacific Coast ship owners. The case was still pending at the close of 1954.

Melvin Hupman, former leader of Frigidaire Local 804, Electrical Workers (Ind.), was convicted January 15, 1954, in Cincinnati, sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$5,000.

Pres. Ben Gold of the Fur & Leather Workers (Ind.), publicly resigned from the Communist Party in order to sign the non-Communist affidavit in 1950. On April 2, 1954, he was convicted on a charge of false swearing. Lacking evidence of his membership in the party at the time he signed or since, the prosecution depended on the fact that formerly he was admittedly a member, and that he participated in May Day parades and in appeals for a fair trial for the Smith Act defendants. Gold was given a three-year sentence but appealed. On the basis of his conviction the union was decertified as collective bargaining agent on May 4, 1954. (See also page 99.)

Avalo A. Fisher, shop steward of Local 23-93 of Wood Workers (CIO) and former executive secretary of Washington State CIO Council, was arrested at Startup, Wash., in June, 1954, on charges of false signing. Although the latest date in the charges is 1953, Fisher was not arrested until a year and a half later, after his local had called a lumbermen's strike. Convicted at Seattle in December, 1954, Fisher was sentenced to five years in prison, but was released pending appeal.

Maurice E. Travis, national secretary-treasurer of Mine-Mill, was indicted in Denver, October 28, 1954. Travis's case is the second (Ben Gold's was the first) in which the Department of Justice sought to establish that public resignation from the Communist Party is not sufficient proof of non-affiliation. (See Chapter IV.)

**Supreme Court Decisions:** In two decisions in 1953 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld earlier rulings of the Board which supported practices denounced by anti-union elements as "featherbedding." One case involved the Typographical Union (AFL) rule that printers must be paid for setting "bogus" material which is not used, to duplicate material sent in the form of mats for castings. (American Newspaper Publishers Assn.) The other case concerned the insistence of the Musicians Union (AFL) that when a theater hires an outside "name" band, it must also hire a local band to play overtures and intermissions. (Gamble Enterprises.) In both cases the court sustained the Board in

holding that since work was done, requiring payment for it was not an unfair labor practice under the Act.

A union agreement provided retroactive wage increases and vacation benefits for members, but denied them to other employees who were not permitted to join the union. The court ruled that even though the union's books were closed, union members could not be given an advantage over non-members. (Gaynor News Co.)

On the conflict of authority between the Board and state bodies, the Supreme Court rendered two decisions which leave the situation in a muddle. It decided in 1953 that a complaint against AFL Teamsters, for picketing to compel an employer to require his employees to join the union, could be made to the NLRB, and therefore a Pennsylvania court had no jurisdiction to issue an injunction. (Garner.) The next year it upheld the decision of a Virginia court awarding an employer a verdict of \$129,000 against the United Mine Workers for alleged loss due to picketing, on the ground that the suit was not for an injunction but for damages. (Laburnum Construction Co.)

A radio station discharged several employees for "disloyalty" because in the course of a dispute they issued handbills attacking the station's programs and general policy. The Supreme Court upheld the company. (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.)

Under another 1953 decision an employer may discharge a union worker for refusing to cross the picket line of another union if his agreement contains a no-strike clause. (Rockaway News Supply Co.)

A union member was, at the union's request, denied employment by a steamship company because he ignored the union's shipping rules and went directly to the company. The Board found that denial of employment violated the Act, because it tended to encourage membership in the union. The Court sustained the Board. (Radio Officers Union.)

In the effort to destroy the Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union (Ind.), a lower court order was issued, December 9, 1954, freezing the union's bank accounts and other assets. The order was a step toward collecting a judgment of \$750,000, plus \$100,000 costs, obtained by the Juneau Spruce Co. in 1949, and sustained by the Supreme Court the following year. With accumulated interest the amount involved was \$1,013,156, the highest award so far under T-H.

**Injunctions:** An 80-day injunction was obtained in October, 1953, to break up a strike of the International Longshoremen's Ass'n (Ind.), in East Coast ports from Maine to Virginia.

The first strong test of the Taft-Hartley provision for injunctions

against strikes resulted inconclusively. In December, 1952, President Truman obtained an 80-day writ to break a strike of the Steelworkers (CIO) at an American Locomotive plant in Dunkirk, N. Y. The union contended that the law was unconstitutional in the injunctive powers it gave to district courts, and that even if constitutional it did not apply to single plants. The union pushed the case as rapidly as possible through two lower courts, but the second decision against it was held up until the last day of the injunction, so that the Supreme Court never ruled on either question. In view of the delays which the law allows, it may be impossible ever to bring a case of this sort to the Supreme Court before the expiration of the 80-day period.

### STATE ANTI-LABOR LAWS

Alabama in 1953, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina in 1954, and Utah in early 1955, put "right to work" laws on their books. This brought the number of states with such legislation to 18, including all of the southern states where wages are the lowest in the country. In addition to the five mentioned, the states with such laws are Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. Drives to extend these laws, backed by businessmen's funds running in some cases to more than a quarter of a million dollars, were under way in preparation for the 1955 legislative sessions in California, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and other states.

Patterned on the original Florida constitutional amendment of 1944, these statutes generally prohibit the closed shop, the union shop, and any other provision for union security contracts. Many of them also restrict picketing to certain times and places or forbid it altogether, and ban other forms of union activity. Their aims and results have earned for them the designation "Right to Wreck" laws.

The damaging effect of state legislation on unionism would be increased by moves in Congress to make not only state laws against union security, but all state laws affecting labor, which are more repressive than federal legislation, take precedence over the federal laws. Such bills were introduced in 1954 in the House by Howard W. Smith (Va., D.) and in the Senate by William E. Jenner (Ind., R.), among others. They failed to pass, but the effort will probably be repeated in the new Congress. Another move in the same direction is the new policy of the National Labor Relations Board of turning over to the states thousands of cases which it used to handle.

The AFL, CIO, and independent unions are undertaking vigorous campaigns to repeal the "right to work" laws where they exist and to prevent their spread to new states. President George Meany of the AFL declared, "The living standards of all Americans are adversely affected by this legislation." Walter Reuther, CIO head, said, "These bills, aimed only at harassing labor by outlawing any form of union security, are a vicious effort to nibble away at the fundamental strength of our trade unions." Pres. John L. Lewis, of the United Mine Workers, warned of the "campaign by big business to split organized labor into 48 different segments, each one shackled by a union-busting state law." Strength was added to the union campaign by the address of Secretary of Labor Mitchell to the CIO convention in 1954, expressing hope that the states which had these laws would wipe them off the books, and condemning moves by employer groups to extend them all over the country. Mitchell's statement was immediately disavowed by President Eisenhower, who said Mitchell was speaking for himself alone, not for the administration.

## VI. FARM FACTS AND TRENDS

Farm income has continued its downward trend during the past four years. Gross value of farm products marketed was 4% less in 1954 than in 1953; and in 1953 it was 4% below 1952. Realized net farm income fell from \$14.5 billion in 1951 to \$13.6 billion in 1952, \$13.3 billion in 1953 and \$12 billion in 1954. Since 1947, net farm income has fallen 29%.

Thus the boom of war and postwar years has given way to chronic crisis conditions, with farm income tending to fall toward depression levels for all but the largest and most highly capitalized units.

Even President Eisenhower, in his State of the Union Message, January, 1955, admitted that "28% of our farm operator families have net cash incomes of less than \$1,000 a year." And the U.S. Bureau of the Census reported in 1954 that the median family income of rural farm families in the U.S. in 1952 was only \$2,226, compared with \$4,249 for urban families. (This is of course money income, not including income received by farmers in the form of food produced and consumed on the farm.) The still lower incomes of Negro farm families, including those in the South, are shown in Chapter II.

The direction in which agriculture is moving today is similar to that in the 1930's. In fact, the only booms that agriculture has known during this century were keyed to the two World Wars. And it is significant that the major military effort in Korea meant no bonanza for farmers; after a slight rise, farm income fell off again. Possible future military actions also carry no promise of a new agricultural boom. There has been a qualitative change in the world situation: past wars served to open vast, if temporary, new markets for U.S. farm products, but a new world war would tend to seal off completely much of the present limited world market.

Even without a war situation, the current policy of the U.S. government effectively cuts off potential markets for both farm and industrial products among some 900 millions of the world's population.

**Less of Consumer Dollar to Farmer:** The share of the consumer's food dollar received by the farmer has been declining in recent years. In 1945 it averaged 54 cents, but by the end of 1954 it was down to 43 cents, the lowest point for any date since 1940.

In its recent report on "Farm Prices and the Cost of Food," the House Committee on Agriculture concludes: "Thus far, almost none of the lower prices received by farmers since 1951 has been passed on to consumers in the form of lower retail prices."

It continues: "The city housewife today is paying the highest prices on record for bakery products and cereals, yet farm prices for wheat are down to 1949 levels again." Taking bread as an example, the report says: "In January 1948 the farm price of wheat reached a peak of \$2.81 a bushel and the average price of a 1-pound loaf of bread was 13.8 cents. Today the farm price of wheat has dropped to \$1.91 a bushel yet the average price of a 1-pound loaf of bread has increased to 17 cents. Thus, while the price of wheat declined 32%, the price of bread has advanced 23%."

The Committee doubts that lower prices to farmers would, under the present system, result in lower prices to consumers. It points out, for example, that a cotton shirt retailing at \$3.95 "contains about 30 cents' worth of cotton," and sees no reason to believe that any further reduction in the farm share would lower the retail price.

## PARITY AND THE BRANNAN PLAN

As a natural result of this falling income trend, and the lower share of the consumer dollar going to the farmer, there is growing demand for parity prices. And this demand has not been silenced by all the disparaging efforts of corporation-inspired farm publications, most top Farm Bureau and Grange leaders, and both Democratic and Republican officials and politicians.

Since parity has become such an important demand, swaying elections and even dividing the ultra-conservative American Farm Bureau Federation, it is important to know what it is and what it is not. The parity ratio is used by the government to measure the purchasing power of farm commodities at any given time as compared with the base period 1910-1914, or with a "modernized" form of it. For example, if the parity ratio for wheat has dropped to 85, this means that a bushel of wheat will buy 15% less of goods used by farmers in production than it did in the base period.

Parity is not a demand for higher farm prices unrelated to consumer costs. On this point, farmers are confronted with the same misrepresentations that labor faces when it makes wage demands. Thus, when steel workers gain a wage increase, the steel corporations commonly will announce a rise in their price of steel per ton. Although this rise is

far beyond any relation to added labor costs, labor is blamed for the rise. Similarly, farmers' demand for parity prices has little or no relation to excessive prices charged by the big food corporations.

Many proposals masquerade under the name of "parity," but only one plan has come close to meeting the real needs of the average farmer. This was the short-lived Brannan Plan, proposed by President Truman's Secretary of Agriculture, promptly repudiated by Congress, and then buried by its own sponsors. But its provisions have not been forgotten by farmers. Its essential points are: (1) It would allow farm prices to find their natural level in the market. (2) When during this process the prices paid to farmers fall below the parity level, direct payments to producers would be made by the government to maintain their parity income. (3) It would extend benefits beyond so-called basic non-perishable commodities, such as wheat, corn and cotton, to include dairy, livestock and poultry products. (4) It would limit the amount of production per producer for which government payments could be made, thus excluding the giant farms from much of the benefits.

It is noteworthy that Ezra Benson, Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture, found it expedient to apply the principle of direct payments to producers to just one farm product, wool, an important commodity of his native state of Utah. It is significant also that the section of the American Farm Bureau Federation which opposed the stand of the Bureau's national leadership for "flexible," that is downward-sliding, parity and demanded fixed parity was the South.

It appears that the price-support program for three major southern crops, cotton, rice, peanuts, is warmly espoused by the Dixiecrats, with no slurring references to "socialism." Tobacco and sugar, the remaining major southern crops, have their own government-sponsored program for maintaining prices.

**Government-Owned Products:** The main attack on government programs for aiding farmers has centered on the immense holdings of federal-owned farm products. The value of these products held by the government's Commodity Credit Corp. (CCC) in December, 1954, was over \$7 billion. The major items stored as of October, 1954, were: wheat, 770 million bushels (inventory), and 316 million bushels (loans, mostly sealed on farms); cotton, 1.8 million bales (inventory), 5.5 million bales (loans); corn, 460 million bushels (inventory), 263 million bushels (loans); butter, 506 million pounds (inventory); and tobacco, 581 million pounds (loans).

The cost and waste of such storage is enormous, amounting, it is estimated, to \$30,000 an hour. While admitting this fact, a spokesman for the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Assn. observed that "basic defense programs are costing the government \$3,600,000 every hour."

Proponents of the Brannan Plan emphasize that under its provisions the government would not be required to buy up and store farm products in order to maintain market price levels. Government holdings could be limited to necessary disaster reserves.

## EAST-WEST TRADE

U.S. agricultural exports declined by more than a billion dollars, or over 25%, from 1951-52 to 1953-54. Exports of wheat dropped 45% in this period and exports of cotton, 43%. The U.S. Department of Agriculture has boasted of larger farm exports in the current fiscal year, but in the first five months, July to November, 1954, this increase totaled only 6.5%, chiefly as a result of giveaway programs.

Confronted with sinking price levels and rising government storage, the question of East-West trade can no longer be ignored by the Administration. Early in 1954, Secretary Benson disallowed a shipment of over 150 million pounds of U.S. butter to the Soviet Union, at the world market price which was then about 60c a pound. By January 1, 1955, butter holdings of the CCC had doubled. Confronted with "unsaleable" mountains of butter slowly turning rancid, the Secretary reversed himself and told reporters at the national convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation in New York City, December 15, 1954: "I think we ought to be willing to trade with iron curtain countries, whether in butter or anything else, so long as the trade is in our favor."

A sarcastic reaction to the U.S.-sponsored policy of boycotting the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China comes from Australia, an important exporter of wool and other farm products. Under pressure from the U.S. Department of State, Australia cut off trade with China. Now, the Australian press notes, the keen Yankee traders are planning to take for themselves the very market the Department of State had forced the Australian government to forswear.

Strength of the desire for farm business with the Soviet Union was reflected in the first press conference held by the new president of the American Farm Bureau Federation in February, 1955, when he demanded the end of economic warfare bars against sales to the USSR.



## FARM POPULATION TRENDS

The Census of Agriculture, taken every five years, has been revealing the squeeze of farmers from the land. The 1935 Census reported 6.8 million farms, but the 1950 Census found fewer than 5.4 million, or a loss of over 1.4 million farms. In 1950 the U.S. farm population was estimated at 16.6% of the total population; by 1954 it was 13.5%.

Not only are farms and farmers decreasing in number. There is a big increase in the number of farmers who work at least 100 days off the farm during the year. This number increased by about half a million between 1935 and 1950, there being in the latter year over 1.2 million such part-time farmers, part-time workers. This means that 24% of all farm operators in 1950 were part-time, whereas in 1935 only 11.5% were part-time. Industrialized states showing the highest percentages of part-time farmers are Massachusetts, 41%; Pennsylvania, 38%; Ohio, 33%, Michigan, 33%; California, 33%, and New York, 31%.

At the other extreme from the part-time farms are the very large farms which have also been increasing in number and importance. In 1950 farms accounting for only 1.3% of the total, operated 33% of all the land in farms in the U.S. And the land held in farms of 1,000 acres or more increased from 220 million acres in 1920 to over 494 million acres in 1950. While these farms of 1,000 acres and more constituted only 2.3% of all farms, they accounted for 30% of all wheat threshed, 26% of all vegetables, 14% of all cotton, and 25% of all cattle and calves sold alive. (For details on this and other subjects covered in this chapter, see *Facts for Farmers*, issued by Farm Research, Inc., 39 Cortlandt St., N. Y. City 7.)

## FARM DEBT EXPANDS

From a low of \$8 billion in 1946, total farm debt had risen to \$17.2 billion by January, 1955. It was \$10 billion in 1940 before World War II, and declined to \$8 billion in 1946. Then it rose to \$12.5 billion in 1950, to \$16 billion in 1953, and added \$1.2 billion more, making the total \$17.2 billion by 1955.

Up to recent years, the main item of farm debt was the mortgage on the land, i.e., farm real estate debt. But now various other forms of debt amount to nearly half the total indebtedness. This reflects the greater capital outlay involved in modern farming, for gas, repairs, fertilizer, hybrid seed, and similar items. This often requires annual production loan financing.

In the face of increasing farm indebtedness, no federal farm debt law is on the statute books. The 83rd Congress failed to restore farm debt moratorium legislation. In 1953 the U.S. Senate had passed a bill which provided for an indefinite moratorium for individual emergency cases but with no scale-down of debt. This measure was bottled up in a House subcommittee until Congress adjourned.

### LIMITED CROP INSURANCE

Federal crop insurance has been offered in a limited number of counties of several states since 1948. Last year some 350,000 farms, or about one out of 16, were covered by some form of federal insurance. For the most part this covers a single crop, like cotton in the South, or wheat in the spring and winter wheat belts. But multiple crop insurance, covering the diverse products of a given farm, is offered in less than 150 counties in the whole country. Such insurance tends to take some of the risk and gamble out of farming and is popular in the few communities where it exists.

Crop insurance, however, is being reduced under the Eisenhower Administration. Estimates in the federal budget for the fiscal year 1955 contemplated only \$12 million expenditures for this purpose and only \$3 million for 1956.

### FARM SERVICES CUT

The Eisenhower budget for fiscal 1956 (discussed in Chapter I) recommended further cuts in most farm programs. For example, net expenditures of the CCC's price support and loan purchase program would be limited to \$968 million compared with \$1,934 million in the last fiscal year. For disaster loans and emergency feed the funds would be cut to \$88 million compared to \$101 million in fiscal 1955, and expenditures of \$225 million in the previous year. For the Farmers Home Administration (successor to the Farm Security Administration) already much-slashed, the cut would be from \$178 million to \$172 million, with farm housing loans to be completely eliminated. Also the school lunch program, which could absorb much of the surplus foods, is to be cut from \$84 million to \$68 million.

As a result of the fight waged by farmers in the National Rural Electric Cooperative Assn., Eisenhower found it necessary to restore some of the cuts previously made in the rural electrification program. This concerns especially more than half a million farms in the coun-

try that are still without electricity, and the majority of the farms of the country that are still without telephone service.

## NEW DUST BOWL

Continued cropping of semi-arid lands in parts of Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas has for the second time in the history of the Great Plains created a dust bowl which endangers a vast region equal in size to the State of Ohio. Persistent droughts since 1951, accompanied by high winds, resulted in a terrible dust storm in the spring of 1954 which ripped off the top soil from a 17-million-acre area. In February, 1955, the Soil Conservation Service warned that 26 million acres were "very dry" and "in condition to blow."

Each year of continued drought, and failure to apply in mass fashion soil conserving practices, will enlarge the dust bowl area. The area already affected is in danger of growing to four times its present huge size if effective steps are not taken.

Drought, dust storms, grasshopper plagues, and floods are related disasters, capable of control by concerted action. "We don't need to have these recurring dust bowls," says Donald A. Williams, administrator of the Soil Conservation Service. But the reclamation projects, tree planting, soil listing, strip cropping, and river valley authority plans—which constitute some of the ways of preserving the top soil—remain on the drawing boards.

## FARM ACTION AND FARMER-LABOR RELATIONS

Mounting difficulties due to drought, loss of export markets, and falling prices have led to a series of significant actions by farmers and by joint farm and labor groups. In November, 1953, a caravan of cattlemen from the drought-stricken Southwest arrived in Washington to demand 100% parity support of live cattle prices. They met with Secretary Benson, and went home with a few promises of relief hay. They had also spotlighted before the nation the continuing needs of this disaster area. Spring delegations to Washington of National Farmers Union members have become an annual feature in the fight for parity.

In 1953 the House Committee on Agriculture held hearings in farm centers across the country. Some of these, notably at Des Moines and Minneapolis, were used as occasions for forceful testimony by farmers and trade union representatives. In Des Moines a parade of Packing, United Electrical, and Auto union workers, together with members of

the Iowa Farmers Union, marched down the main street to the scene of the hearings.

An outstanding statement on farm-labor relations was contained in comprehensive testimony presented by Don Harris, chairman of the Farm-Labor Committee of the Electrical Workers (UE), before the House Committee on Agriculture, in April, 1954.

He said the UE has a special interest in this field, not only because it has jurisdiction in farm implement plants, but also because it is finding that a growing number of farmers are becoming members of the union "because they must work in factories to supplement their income." (See also UE's pamphlet, *Farmer-Labor Teamwork*.)

He showed how the farm implement companies "hold up the farmers," and pointed out that production wage costs are only a small part of the selling price of farm equipment, amounting to only 14% of the total price in 1950, according to that year's census of manufactures. Consequently it would take a 7% increase in wages to raise prices 1% if profit margins were left unchanged.

The International Harvester Co. claims wage rates rose 60% between 1946 and 1953. That means that Harvester could have passed on the full cost by raising farm equipment prices only 8.5%. But its figures show that farm machine prices were raised 47% and truck prices 18% in that six-year period.

Uneasiness among dairy farmers was reflected by large meetings in the New York milkshed in December, 1954. At one meeting in Syracuse, attended by nearly 5,000, an effective protest was registered by the farmers in the audience against continued low prices received for Class 3 milk used in manufactured dairy products. A farmer spokesman charged that the milk cooperative leaders had been concerning themselves exclusively with Class I or fluid milk, whereas most New York milk is used for Class 3 purposes.

The year 1954 saw egg prices drop below production costs. The National Poultry Farmers Association sent delegations to Washington, demanding that surplus grain be made available to cooperative poultry feed mills at low prices and that a million cases of government stored eggs be turned over to the federal school lunch program. In January, 1955, 25 poultrymen from the Eastern Farmers Union went to Washington to picket the Department of Agriculture.

On the negative side was the condoning by AFL Pres. George Meany of the round-up by the Justice Department of tens of thousands of Mexican farm workers. Attorney General Brownell announced in July,

1954, that 150,000 Mexican workers had been deported. (Other estimates put the total much higher.) Local newspapers reported how these workers were forced to pay transportation fare for their own deportation, often being sent to a point many hundreds of miles from the border point nearest their home. Admittedly, farmers were paying 15c an hour for this "illegal labor" while prevailing wages were 60c or more. Instead of demanding higher wages for all farm workers (there are about 4 million in the country including migratory and seasonal workers) Meany, in a letter to Secretary of Agriculture Benson, attacked the entry of these workers into the U.S.

On July 29, 1953, Attorney General Brownell obtained an indictment to the effect that a group of 3,000 Louisiana strawberry growers, both Negro and white, who had joined the National Agricultural Workers Union (AFL), constituted a monopoly in their efforts to bargain collectively for marketing their products. Each of these farmers cultivates about three acres from which he earned less than \$400 in the year 1951. In April, 1954, Federal Judge Christenberry upheld Brownell's antitrust action and assessed fines plus suspended jail sentences against six of the union members, in addition to fining the union itself.

## VII. POLITICAL TRENDS

### RECORD OF EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

The first session of the 83rd Congress ran from January 3 to August 3, 1953; the second session from January 6 to August 20, 1954, and a special session from November 8 to December 2, called to discuss the vote of censure on Senator McCarthy.

This Republican-controlled Congress enacted almost no legislation of value to the masses of the American people. It contributed to the giveaway program of the Republican Administration. Although in 1952 candidate Eisenhower and the Republicans had pledged legislation to outlaw lynching, poll taxes, and unfair labor practices against minorities, nothing of this kind was accomplished. Instead Congress permitted its committees to whittle away at the rights of citizens as well as non-citizens, allowed the Walter-McCarran Act to stand untouched, and then wound up its sessions in a delirium of Redbaiting which included the passage of a law "outlawing" Communists and giving the government life and death power over unions.

The Baltimore *Afro-American*, August 14, 1954, pointed out that, in addition to breaking its promises about FEPC, poll taxes and anti-lynching laws, "the harsh and ugly truth is that this Republican-controlled Congress has kept a tighter lid on civil rights issues and legislation than any other in the last 25 years."

Pres. James G. Patton of the National Farmers Union centered his criticism on the power issue when he stated: "This Congress and this administration have made a shambles out of our public power program. . . . This Congress has turned off the tap of public power and turned its back on the people. It has embraced the private power gang who are wallowing in the public trough which is overflowing with giveaways, subsidies and taxfree projects." (*Labor's Daily*, Aug. 24, 1954.)

The AFL executive council described the first session of Congress as "almost entirely devoid of positive accomplishment." And the second session, it said, had "earned a vote of censure from the American people."

The CIO Legislative Department drew up a ten-point indictment of this Congress for "defaulting on its responsibilities to the American

people." It declared also that the record of Congress "in the aggregate, is contrary to the public interest."

**Major Legislation:** Well kept, however, were Republican promises to the Texas and other oil millionaires who helped elect Eisenhower. The Submerged Lands Act, signed May 22, 1953, gave oil properties estimated as worth anywhere from \$50 billion to \$300 billion, to four coastal states for exploitation by the big oil companies. (The Supreme Court had three times held that these oil lands belong to all the people of the U.S. and not to the coastal states.)

Congress was also kind to the power companies. After the first session, the *New York Times* reported, August 3, 1953, that Congress had "sharply restricted funds for federal development of hydro-electric power, particularly transmission lines." And *Business Week*, August 8, 1953, admitted: "No new public power projects were authorized and projects already authorized had rough sledding getting funds to continue work."

Another big hand-out to the private power corporations came in the second session when the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 was amended to permit the Atomic Energy Commission, for the first time, to license private companies to build atomic reactors or furnaces and to own and operate them. As finally passed, the bill gave to a few private monopolies a gigantic atomic-power potential estimated by Sen. Wayne L. Morse to be worth some \$42 trillion. These assets had already been developed by the U.S. government at a cost to the people of about \$12 billion. This bill, denounced as probably the greatest steal in the history of the U.S., represented a complete reversal of the federal power policy which had been evolving since the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt.

Like the Farmers Union and consumer organizations, labor also indicted the Republican administration and Congress for their crippling of such public power agencies as TVA and the Rural Electrification program. The *CIO (PAC) 1954 Handbook* charged the administration with slowly killing off REA co-ops. Attempts in Congress to provide adequate loan funds to the REA were defeated by Republican votes.

In the Housing Act of 1954 Congress voted only 35,000 low-rent public housing units for the current fiscal year and killed the Eisenhower proposal for 140,000 units over a four-year period. The provisions and restrictions of the law were such that even Republican Senator Irving Ives of New York said it "sounds like the death knell of federal public housing." After the Senate vote (59 to 21) the National Housing

Conference noted that the "greatest legislative body in the world" has driven "the last nail in the coffin of the low-rent public housing program." Despite this fact, President Eisenhower, in signing the bill into law, still called it "a major advance toward meeting America's housing needs."

The "trickle-down" tax measures of the 83rd Congress are recorded in Chapter I. These gave additional advantages (through tax relief) to corporations and to wealthy individuals.

Although Congress broadened Social Security coverage, and extended unemployment compensation to some 3 million more workers (as noted in Chapter II), it failed to raise unemployment insurance standards, or to increase the federal minimum wage requirement above the current 75c an hour, or to extend the protection of the wage-and-hour law to millions of workers not now covered. In the field of health legislation it failed even to pass the piddling Eisenhower program calling for creation of a \$25-million federal re-insurance fund which would have aided chiefly the private insurance companies. It refused to adopt a school construction program.

A foreign aid bill was passed calling for \$2.8 billion of new appropriations, and authorized expenditures of around \$2.5 billion in amounts previously appropriated. About \$4.4 billion of the total was for military aid. Even the *Wall Street Journal*, June 28, 1954, said that a reappraisal of such aid was "long overdue," adding, "it is also clear that there will always be some kind of crisis to justify indefinite continuance of foreign aid." Fascist Spain is among the countries of the "free world" now subsidized under the "mutual security" program.

The bill for flexible price supports was a betrayal of the "full parity" promise the President had made in a pre-election speech at Kasson, Minn., September 2, 1952. The new Farm Act of 1954 provided for an 82.5% to 90% scale of parity payments on five "basic" crops instead of the former mandatory 90%-of-parity plan. The Act also favored some sectional interests such as wool growers, while discriminating against others such as dairy farmers, cattle men, and growers of fruits and vegetables.

Organized labor indicted the 83rd Congress for defaulting on campaign promises to make the Taft-Hartley law fair to labor, but instead, as the *CIO News* put it (Dec. 6, 1954), "attempted to adopt a program that would have made this anti-labor law even more harmful to labor."

The first session appropriated \$34.4 billion for the Department of Defense. The second session voted \$28.8 billion, which, with a carry-



over of \$55 billion, made \$83.8 billion available for Army, Navy, Air Force and related purposes in fiscal year 1955.

## 1953 ELECTIONS

In New York City, Tammany again took full control of City Hall in the November, 1953, election. Robert F. Wagner, Jr. (D), was elected mayor with 1,021,488 votes as against 661,410 for Harold Riegelman (R), and 468,392 for Rudolph Halley (Lib.-Ind.). Clifford T. McAvoy (ALP) polled 54,372 votes. Hulan E. Jack (D) became the first Negro Borough President of Manhattan in the history of the city. Wagner in the Democratic primaries had defeated Mayor Vincent R. Impellitteri who was backed by reactionary Farleyite elements. In the election Wagner was endorsed by both the CIO and AFL central bodies.

George Blake Charney, New York Communist and Smith Act defendant, was nominated by petition of 9,300 voters on the independent line, the Peoples Rights Party, for District Attorney of New York County, and received 4,975 votes. The American Labor Party candidate for the same office, Ira Gollobin, received 9,486 votes.

In New Jersey Robert B. Meyner (D) was elected governor over Paul L. Troast (R), breaking a 10-year Republican grip on the state apparatus. The main issues were alleged corruption and crime in Republican-controlled counties and the Republican candidate's request in 1951 for clemency for convicted labor extortionist Joseph S. Fay. President Eisenhower had endorsed the Republican whose defeat by Meyner brought liberal Democrats, backed by the CIO, into control of the state machinery.

In several municipal elections also there were significant Democratic victories: in Akron and Columbus, Ohio, in New Haven and Hartford, Conn., in Buffalo, N. Y., Louisville, Ky., and Davenport, Iowa.

Following the election, Senator McCarthy accused the Republican leadership of "ducking issues" by failing to attack the Democratic Party's affinity for "Communists, cronies, and corruption." So the Administration, prior to another special balloting in California on November 10, adopted a familiar McCarthyite tactic. Attorney General Brownell on November 6 accused former President Truman of appointing a person to high office knowing that person to be a "spy." Brownell charged that the late Harry Dexter White, former Treasury official who was never proved to be anything more than a vigorous New Dealer, had been appointed by Truman in 1946 as executive director of the International Monetary Fund. The latter denied it, stating the

Republicans would "stop at nothing, lies or anything else, to accomplish their purpose." He also said: "It is now evident that the present Administration has fully embraced, for political advantage, McCarthyism."

## ELECTIONS OF 1954

In the 1954 "mid-term" elections on November 2, the Democrats, with virtually unanimous trade union support, obtained control of the 84th Congress by a close margin. They also added eight to the number of Democratic governors of states. The election was full of close see-saw contests and was generally described as a set-back for the Republicans but by no means a sweep for the Democrats. It was one of the closest elections in U.S. history. Out of a total of about 42.5 million votes cast for seats in the House of Representatives, the Democrats received about 2,482,000 more than the Republicans or over 52% of the votes, compared with about 50% in 1952. In states outside the South they received over 49% of the votes compared with 45% in 1952.

**House and Senate Changes:** In the House of Representatives the Republicans had 219 (including one vacancy) before the election and 203 after. The Democrats had 215 before (including three vacancies) and 232 after. They thus regained control of the House by a majority of 29.

In the Senate, with a membership of 96 (where 35 were up for election in 1954) the number of Republicans dropped from 49 to 47, and the Democrats rose from 46 to 48, apart from Independent Wayne L. Morse of Oregon who was pledged to vote with the Democrats in the organization of the new Congress.

**U.S. Senators:** A notable victory in a Senate contest in 1954 was that of State Sen. Richard L. Neuberger (D) of Oregon who defeated a Republican reactionary, the incumbent Guy Condon, by 2,166 votes. Neuberger was the first Democrat to go to the U.S. Senate from that state in 40 years. He attributed his election to "mistrust on the part of a great many people as to what was being done with water-power sites, national forests, tidelands oil reserves." He ran with almost the total opposition of the press, having only the endorsement of three small daily papers, but with the united support of the trade unions.

Paul Douglas (D) of Illinois was re-elected by about 300,000 votes over Joseph T. Meek who described himself as "one thousand percent for McCarthy." Meek, a red-baiting business man, attributed his defeat to the "big CIO and big union vote."

Patrick V. McNamara, a contractor executive and long-time unpaid

officer of the Detroit pipe-fitters union (AFL), beat a leading Republican McCarthyite, Senator Homer Ferguson, in the Michigan race, by almost 45,000 votes. Unemployment in the auto factories and dissatisfaction of the dairy farmers with Administration price policies helped the Democrats. Another contribution to Ferguson's defeat was the reaction of Michigan workers to the remarks of millionaire Charles E. Wilson, Defense Secretary and former General Motors' president, who in a political speech in Detroit, October 11, referring to the unemployed, said: "I have always liked bird dogs better than kennel-fed dogs myself. You know, one who'll get out and hunt for food rather than sit on his fanny and yelp." To which CIO Pres. Walter Reuther replied: "The unemployed to whom Mr. Wilson refers in such brutal terms are jobless in substantial part because of the irresponsibility of his corporate colleagues in General Motors and other major auto corporations."

Other labor-endorsed Democrats who won were Alben W. Barkley (Ky.); Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyo.); Matthew M. Neely (W. Va.); Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.); James E. Murray (Mont.); Estes Kefauver (Tenn.). In Ohio Thomas A. Burke lost by a close count to Republican George H. Bender.

In New Jersey, Clifford P. Case, the only Republican candidate specifically opposed by McCarthy, nosed out liberal Charles R. Howell (D) by about 3,000 votes. Case, a mild progressive, tried to disassociate himself from the Americans for Democratic Action who endorsed both candidates.

**McCarthyites Defeated:** A number of McCarthy-type candidates for House seats were beaten in Congressional races. Among the notorious enemies of labor and civil rights who were defeated were GOP Rep. Fred E. Busbey in Illinois. The strongest force behind the Democrat who defeated him was the United Steelworkers (CIO), assisted by other CIO and AFL unions.

Another victory for labor and a broad coalition of community organizations was scored in the defeat in Illinois of former Rep. Richard Vail, ex-FBI agent, by liberal Democratic Rep. Barratt O'Hara. The Republican candidate had geared his campaign toward racist propaganda with Klan-like appeals for "the preservation of white neighborhoods."

A leading McCarthyite defeated by a Democrat (Henry S. Reuss) was incumbent Republican Rep. Charles J. Kersten in Milwaukee's 14th congressional district. Kersten is a close political crony of Mc-

Carthy and a leading labor baiter. Also Rep. Kit Clardy, a leading member of the House Un-American Committee who was known as Michigan's own "little McCarthy," was defeated by Donald Hayworth, a college professor of Michigan State College who is on the board of the Americans for Democratic Action.

Another rabid anti-Red crusader, Rep. Edgar A. Jonas (R) of Chicago, was defeated by Charles A. Boyle who campaigned for the outlawing of atomic weapons and opposition to "massive retaliation as a fundamental principle of our foreign policy."

**State Contests:** In the races for 34 governorships the Democrats took 19 (six in the Solid South) and the Republicans 15, the latter losing eight to the Democrats—in Arizona, Colorado, Connecticut, Maine (in the election held in September), Minnesota, New Mexico, New York, and Pennsylvania. The result left 27 Democratic governors and 21 Republicans. This was the first time since 1951 (when they held 30 governorships) that Democrats were in the majority.

One of the closest races was in New York where Democrat W. Averell Harriman, supported by the Liberal Party and all branches of the trade union movement, ended 12 years of Republican rule by defeating, with a plurality of only 11,125 votes, Irving M. Ives, the candidate picked by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. (Harriman received 264,093 of his votes on the Liberal Party line.) Rep. Jacob K. Javits (R) defeated Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., in the race for state attorney general by 172,899 votes. Roosevelt, who had been favored by labor for the nomination for governor, was opposed by the pro-McCarthy Farleyite elements of the Democratic Party.

In Pennsylvania the Democrats elected a governor for the first time in 20 years. George M. Leader, endorsed by labor, won by almost 280,000 votes. Unemployment in steel, coal and other industries, the economic distress among farmers, and the sales tax contributed to the defeat of the Republicans. Leader, as a state senator, had voted against the state "loyalty oath" and other legislation advanced by the oil, power, railroad, and manufacturing moguls who control the Pennsylvania Republican Party.

In the Maine voting, held on September 13, a Democratic governor was elected for the first time in 20 years. The winner, Edmund S. Muskie, emphasized chiefly local issues including unemployment in the industrial areas of the state. In Connecticut Rep. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D) won by about 3,000 votes over the incumbent John D. Lodge, drawing a heavy vote in industrial cities.

**Republican and Democratic Positions:** One reason for the close race in some areas in the 1954 elections was the fact that the Republicans, especially in the final stage of the campaign, posed as the "peace party," and Eisenhower in his burst of activity for the candidates in the closing weeks even referred to the "futile" casualties in Korea. The Democrats, with their cold war line, were in no position to challenge this "jobs-without-war" demagoguery which had also been used effectively by Eisenhower in the 1952 campaign when he promised to go to Korea and end the war there.

Through Vice President Richard Nixon and a staff of McCarthyite smear experts, the Republicans resorted to the usual redbaiting and "subversive" scares. This was done especially in the West and Far West where the Democrats, for all their rampant anti-Red line, were charged with "20 years of treason" and with having been "soft on Communism."

Although redbaited and smeared by the Republican campaigners, the Democrats, in their official 1954 *Democratic Fact Book*, boasted that "the top leadership of the Communist Party has been wiped out—prosecuted and imprisoned by Democratic Administrations," and that "the FBI gets 30 times as much money, had 18 times the staff it had when the Democrats came to power." It gave more details on what it did to "crush" the Communists in the U.S. and how it led in sponsorship of legislation designed to break up progressive unions.

Taking a more advanced position on social welfare issues, the liberal Democrats failed to recognize the relation of domestic problems and foreign policy. They advocated an expanding economy and full employment but did not stress the fact that these could be achieved through the widening of East-West trade and a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence.

Like the Republicans the Democrats generally, even those calling themselves New Dealers, assumed that world tensions would continue and that the military spending resulting from this would provide a prop for the U.S. economy.

## UNITED LABOR IN THE ELECTIONS

Organized labor was more active and more united in the 1954 election than in any "mid-term" election in recent times. The results of this unity, and emphasis on bread-and-butter issues were most apparent in Democratic victories in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois, Kentucky,

West Virginia—leading industrial and mining states where unemployment was heaviest.

After the election the CIO Political Action Committee stated that all the new winning Democrats had PAC support. Altogether, it endorsed 256 for the House and had 126 of them elected; of its 26 endorsed candidates for the Senate, 16 were elected.

A few CIO leaders, after the election, were less enthusiastic over the results but noted the trend was in the right direction. Others criticized the Democratic Party leaders for not taking a stronger stand on peace issues. Pres. Ralph Helstein of the Packinghouse Workers warned the Democratic leaders: "They had better find a way to make it abundantly clear to the American people that they are not the 'war party.' There is no way of measuring, in terms of actual votes, the effect of President Eisenhower's emphasis on his record as the 'peace-maker.' I am, however, quite certain that it was the Republican Party's greatest single political asset."

Labor's League for Political Education (political arm of the AFL) reported after the election that of 30 candidates it endorsed for the Senate 18 were elected. This meant seven new labor-supporting Senators and a loss of three seats, thus making what LLPE called "a net gain of four new liberals."

In the House, where 435 seats were being filled in this election, it reported that 154 Representatives were elected who had been endorsed by its local leagues. In addition, it said there were another 29 Congressmen "who did not seek endorsement of our local leagues but who have in the past sessions supported social and labor legislation. This gives us a total of 183 members of the 84th Congress that can be counted on as favorable on labor legislation." (*LLPE Political Memo*, 11/19.) This is 20 more than the number it classified as pro-labor in the 83rd Congress (1953-54) and the same number it had put in this category in the 82nd Congress (1951-52).

## THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

In a report to the National Committee of the Progressive Party in January, 1954, National Secretary C. B. Baldwin, in analyzing the role of the party, said that in the six years since its organization the PP had "suffered serious losses" due in large part to the fact that "We have been living in a situation of great international and domestic tension, which has resulted in both fear and repressions."

The party at that time agreed that its role in the 1954 Congressional

elections would be to direct its resources and energies toward bringing about a political realignment, while recognizing that the party itself was not destined to be the political instrument through which a new and dominant third party would emerge. As Secretary Baldwin put it in his report in November, 1954, to a post-election conference attended by 53 delegates from 10 states: "We agreed then that our most effective contribution toward political realignment would result from forcing the candidates of the two old parties, and particularly the Democratic Party, to take unequivocal stands on the important issues facing the country. We also recognized that in some instances this could best be done by running our own candidates."

In the 1954 campaign the PP had candidates in New York (see ALP below), California, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. In California the candidate for Secretary of State, Horace Alexander, running on the Independent Progressive Party ticket, polled an official total of 72,115 votes, with approximately 123,000 needed to remain on the ballot.

At the post-election conference a special campaign to back the censure of Sen. Joseph McCarthy was outlined and local groups were urged to push Congressional action on behalf of peaceful co-existence, FEPC, repeal of Brownell-Butler, McCarran-Walter and other repressive laws; reintroduction of the Brannan Plan for farm relief and price and rent controls for consumers; a halt to the giveaways of national resources and public enterprises; and an anti-depression program calling for \$1,000 personal income tax exemption, a \$1.25 minimum hourly wage, a public works program, improved unemployment benefits, and East-West trade.

**American Labor Party:** The New York State affiliate of the Progressive Party is the American Labor Party. Although weakened by divisions on policy within its ranks, and the low vote for its N. Y. City mayoralty candidate in 1953, it put up a ticket for independent voters in 1954 consisting of John T. McManus, general manager of the *National Guardian*, for Governor; actress Karen Morley for Lieutenant-Governor; Ralph Powe, Negro attorney, for Comptroller (the only Negro running for a state office on any ticket); and George Fish, Brooklyn attorney, for Attorney General. Statewide votes counted for ALP totaled 46,880, or less than the 50,000 required to remain automatically on the ballot in future elections. The party charged that there was a "deliberate and concerted effort" to deprive the organization of its ballot status.

**Death of Marcantonio:** Former Rep. Vito Marcantonio, who

served 14 years as a Congressman from the 18th Congressional district of New York City, and who was unseated in 1950 by a Democratic-Liberal-Republican coalition, supported by the generous contributions of leading capitalists, announced in July, 1954, that he would seek election to Congress as an independent. He had resigned from the American Labor Party of which he was chairman after the election of November, 1953. The ALP announced it would run no candidate against Marcantonio and would give him enthusiastic support in his effort to defeat the reactionary incumbent, Rep. James G. Donovan. Marcantonio said that on August 16 he would begin circulating petitions to put his name on the ballot. On August 9 he died of a heart attack on his way to work. Tributes to his life and work were paid by many Congressmen including Reps. Celler, Klein and Multer (of N.Y.), McCarthy (Minn.), Keogh (N.Y.) Blatnik (Minn.) and even the reactionary Clare Hoffman (Mich.). Rep. Klein said the day after Marcantonio's death, "I know that every member of this House who knew him respected him and liked him, although I suppose not many will get up here and say so."

### COMMUNIST PROGRAM IN 1954

The basic statement of the Communist position in the 1954 campaign was given in a document called "The American Way to Jobs, Peace, Equal Rights and Democracy," which was ratified at the Communist Party's National Election Conference in N. Y. City, August 7-8, 1954, attended by 150 delegates from CP organizations in 24 states. Some 750,000 copies of the program were distributed, setting forth the aims of the Communists—their long- and short-range view and tactical line.

The five-point program called for (1) raising the purchasing power of the people and curbing the power and profits of the trusts; (2) spending for human welfare instead of warfare, "for homes and schools, not bombs and battleships"; (3) end of the "cold war" and the promotion of friendship and trade; (4) the defense and strengthening of democracy; and (5) the winning of equal rights for the Negro people, with full economic, political and social equality.

The program, sounding the note of unity in the labor movement, urged "support for the anti-depression demands of the AFL and CIO, for the progressive farm demands of the National Farmers Union, for the democratic demands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, for every proposal, every action which can help save our people from threatening economic ruin, fascism and war."



It was made clear that the program proposed "cannot do away with the planlessness and recurring crises of capitalism. Only socialism can do that. This program can help, however, to delay the outbreak of an economic depression and to cushion its blow upon the people. It can save America from the clear and present danger of McCarthyism—can block war and fascism, save U.S. living standards, and maintain democracy."

"The Communist Party," it said, "advocates a peaceful path to socialism. It brands as a lie the charge that it advocates the use of force and violence in the pursuit of any of its immediate or long-range goals. It is the monopolists who advocate and practice force and violence to perpetuate their rule and to prevent social changes desired by the majority. The Communist Party declares that socialism will come into existence in the United States only when the majority of the American people decide to establish it. . . . The needs of our nation cannot be served by any sect or conspiracy. For no progress, whether of a minimum or of a more far-reaching nature, can come other than through the will and action of a majority of the American people."

The program stated also: "American Communists believe in the defense of their country, and the people and territory of their country. We deny that the Soviet Union, People's China, or any country led and ruled by working people threatens our country, or could threaten our country. . . . The false and despicable charge that Communists are 'agents of a foreign power,' or 'spies,' emanates from the monopolists who want, thereby, to cover up their own betrayal of the true national interests of the American people."

Also the program stated that the Communist Party "declares that it seeks no conflict with any church or any American's religious belief. On the contrary, we stretch out our hand in the fellowship of common struggle for our mutual goal of peace, democracy and security to all, regardless of religious belief."

Finally, it asserted: "We are ready to work with all Americans, no matter what our past relations or present differences may be, to block war and fascism, to save U.S. living standards, to restore free exchange of ideas and debate on the great issues facing the nation. We propose a coming together of all progressive and democratic forces to consult with each other and to make such consultation and working together a habit. The grave problems of our nation cannot be solved otherwise."

**Elizabeth Gurley Flynn for Congress:** The nationally known Communist, working class leader and Smith Act defendant, Elizabeth

Gurley Flynn, won a place on the ballot in the Congressional race in the 24th district of the Bronx, N. Y. City. Her campaign was conducted by the Peoples Rights Party and over 4,000 signatures were obtained in the district, more than sufficient to nominate. Her campaign was vigorously waged on a platform of Peace, Jobs and Democracy, and Miss Flynn made 15 radio talks. Number of votes counted for her was about 1,400, the Democrat Rep. Charles Buckley winning with nearly 69,000 votes.

**New Jersey Communists:** Bert Salwen of Trenton, N. J., had been Communist Party candidate for public office every year but one since 1950. In March, 1954, he filed as candidate for Mercer County Freeholder under Communist Party designation with more than the number of signatures required by law. In September his name was stricken from the ballot by the county clerk on the ground that the Communist Control Act of 1954, passed by Congress, had outlawed the Communist Party. Salwen filed suit against the county clerk in Superior Court where Judge John Drewen ruled against him. He then appealed to the N. J. Supreme Court to have his name restored to the ballot. Meanwhile, parallel action was taken in Newark, N. J., against Charles Nusser, running as C. P. candidate for Essex County Freeholder. Salwen's appeal to the state Supreme Court was denied October 11 and it was then too late to carry the appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court in time for the November 2 election.

### SOME CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTORS

Among those who contributed most heavily to the different Republican campaign chests in 1954 were various Rockefellers and Mellons who spread their contributions among many members of their families and several Republican committees. Others who gave were Robert R. Young of the New York Central Railroad and Anita Young; four members of the Pew (Sun Oil) family. Substantial amounts were given also by Jack F. Chrysler; Henry R. Luce; Mr. and Mrs. Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. (General Motors); Henry Ford II; Harvey S. Firestone, Jr. (rubber); Floyd B. Odium (Atlas Corp.); Pierre S. DuPont III (chemicals); John T. Dorrance, Jr. (canning); Mrs. Evelyn B. Olin (chemicals); and various movie magnates including Samuel Goldwin and Harry M. Warner.

Some of the biggest money outlays in elections are made to state committees. In New York State the Averell Harriman family up to October 9 had spent at least \$100,000 to finance his successful campaign for Governor. In the same state, the United Republican Finance Com-

mittee report for 1954 showed contributions by a large number of Rockefellers and members of their financial interest group as well as Morgan-connected tycoons. Typical names among the big givers, in addition to the Rockefellers, were Alfred G. Vanderbilt, Robert Lehman, Thomas S. Lamont, Jeremiah Milbank, S. Sloan Colt, George F. Baker, Jr., Clarence Dillon, Frederick M. Warburg, Vincent Astor, Spyros P. Skouras and other millionaires.

Reports from various states indicate how out-of-state interests put up money for local reactionary candidates. For example, H. R. Cullen, Texas oil tycoon, and his family poured \$25,000 into the Colorado fight that defeated Democrat John Carroll for the Senate. The Rockefeller group also put \$5,500 into this local fight, and Pierre DuPont \$3,000.

As pointed out in *Labor Fact Book 11*, there is no way of knowing the total amounts spent by the big-money crowd to back their candidates. The *New York Times* reported, November 25, 1954, in an Albany dispatch on state expenditures, the Democratic State Committee alone spent over \$761,000 and expenditures by other party groups ran the Democratic total to over \$1 million. The Republicans reported receiving about the same amount. The news story said: "These figures represent absolute minimums. They include only the state-wide political groups specifically devoted to electing candidates for Governor. They do not cover any share of expenditures reported by county committees or other lesser groups."

Furthermore, "They also represent only the amounts that the committees see fit to report. Although the election law sets up schedules of dates for listing contributions, the state does not enforce the law, and the campaign statements are merely filed away."

## NEGROES IN OFFICE

Three Negroes were elected to Congress in the 1954 elections. They were Adam Clayton Powell (D), re-elected for his sixth term, from New York City; William L. Dawson (D), re-elected for his seventh term, from Chicago; and State Sen. Charles C. Diggs (D.) elected to Congress for the first time in Detroit. Thus for the first time since Reconstruction three Negroes are sitting in Congress at the same time.

In the state legislatures incomplete post-election records showed 31 Negroes elected to the lower houses and five to state senates. Including holdovers (as in New Jersey), and allowing for election of Negroes not generally reported in the press, there are probably about 40 Negro state legislators altogether. This is about the same number as has pre-

vailed since 1946, and represents 0.6% of the 7,200 members of state legislatures in the whole country.

In Maryland one Negro Democrat and one Negro Republican were elected to the House of Delegates for the first time in the state's history; and a Republican Negro was elected to the state senate.

In Wisconsin three Negroes were elected to the state assembly instead of one. In Michigan six Negroes were elected to the lower house instead of five, while Mrs. Brown was re-elected to the senate.

On the other hand, Negro representation dwindled in some states. In Ohio, there were four Negro members of the legislature in 1947, but none at present. However, Negro representation in Ohio city councils is substantial and increasing. In a number of places Negro Republicans were beaten by white Democrats in the anti-Eisenhower drift which reached major proportions in the main industrial cities.

In Illinois six Negroes (four Democrats and two Republicans) were elected to the lower house and one Negro Democrat to the senate. In Pennsylvania five Democrats, including the first two Negro women ever elected to this office, were chosen for the lower house. In New York five Democrats, including the first colored woman to hold this office, were elected to the state assembly and one to the senate.

In Kansas one Democrat was elected to the lower house and a Negro state senator was elected in Indiana. Two Negroes were elected to the lower house in California, and one each in Colorado and Massachusetts.

No record is available of the number elected to local offices. In Newark, N. J., a local Abyssinian Baptist minister was elected as a Democrat to the Essex County Board of Freeholders, and in Paterson, N. J., another Democrat (a Negro construction worker) was elected to the city council. In New York City, Thomas Dickens was elected to the city court with Democratic and Liberal endorsements, and Chicago elected a Negro municipal court judge. Lansing, Mich., elected its first Negro councilman. In Crowley, Louisiana, the city council includes two Negroes, the first elected since Reconstruction. In Hot Springs, Arkansas, a bathhouse attendant, Fred W. Martin, was chosen alderman, the first Negro elected to public office in over 50 years. The first Negro city councilman was elected in Joplin, Missouri in April, 1954.

Generally, victorious Negro candidates for office were elected by a combination of Negro and white votes, receiving substantial support from the white voters of the area. Also, a number of reactionary candidates who attempted to make use of anti-Negro propaganda were defeated—notably former Republican Congressman, Richard Vail in

Illinois; H. C. Byrd, Democratic candidate for Governor in Maryland; and Landon Knight, the Republican opponent of Charles C. Diggs in Michigan.

Only the American Labor Party (N.Y.) and the Independent Progressive Party (Calif.) nominated Negro candidates for state-wide offices in 1954.

**Earlier Elections in the South:** In the municipal election in Atlanta, Ga., in May, 1953, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University, was elected to the local board of education, winning over the white incumbent by a vote of 22,200 to 13,900. He carried the majority of the predominantly white precincts of the city as well as all of the Negro districts.

Dr. Clement "is by no means the only southern Negro to be elected to public office within the period of 1943-53," writes Henry Lee Moon of the NAACP in a paper on "The Southern Negro Vote, 1943-1953." He reports that "During this decade, Negroes have been elected to boards of education in San Antonio, Texas; Knoxville, Tenn.; and Augusta, Ga.; as well as to the city governing bodies of Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Fayetteville, Durham, Gastonia and Chapel Hill, N. C.; Nashville, Tenn.; and Richmond, Va. In Nansemond County, Va., a Negro was elected to the county board of supervisors, and down in Miami a judge was appointed to preside over an all-Negro police court."

The data above do not of course include the various Negro appointees to local, state or federal public offices, no complete record of which is available.

## VIII. LABOR ABROAD

### WORLD FEDERATIONS

The Third World Trade Union Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions was held in Vienna, Austria, October 10-12, 1953. In all, 784 delegates and observers (over 660 of them delegates) represented a total of 88,600,000 workers in 79 countries. Of this total, the WFTU reported 80,354,000 were members of affiliated unions while 8,246,000 belonged to 207 national and local trade union organizations which are not affiliated with the WFTU.

At this 3rd Congress, some 17 million more workers were represented than at the 2nd Congress held in 1949 at Milan, Italy. Among the largest delegations were those of Austria, China, Finland, France, Germany (east and west), India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union and areas in Africa and Latin America. There were 187 delegates and observers from 16 Latin American countries, plus 10 delegates from four British Caribbean colonies, compared with only 21 Latin American delegates at the 2nd Congress. The U.S. was not represented, while Canada had one representative.

Forty-six delegates and observers came from Africa, while 95 represented underdeveloped areas in Asia and the Near and Middle East. The Congress greeted the struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples for national independence and against imperialist oppression and enslavement, and reaffirmed WFTU's support of such struggles.

WFTU General Secretary Louis Saillant reported that unemployment in Western Europe had increased from about three million in 1948 to nearly 4½ million by mid-1953. He said that the Marshall Plan and the cold war policies of the western nations had further impoverished the working people by raising living costs and taxes while increasing corporate profits.

**Call for Unity:** Pres. Giuseppe Di Vittorio in his report pointed out that the Congress brought together workers without regard to political and religious views, race or nationality.

The Congress adopted a manifesto on the re-establishment of world trade union unity. It addressed an open letter on united action to all union organizations and all members of unions not affiliated with the

WFTU—calling for an end to the artificial split in the workingclass movement. This split, said the WFTU, “was caused by the reactionary leaders of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations and those of their followers who serve the interests of the American imperialists.”

**WFTU Economic Program:** In its resolutions the Vienna Congress of WFTU called for a struggle for higher wages, reduction of taxes, and elimination of unemployment. The appeal to all unions outlined a program calling for application of the principle of equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, age, race or nationality; for abolition of inhuman speedup; for development of a broad system of social insurance and social security; for abolition of anti-labor legislation and the guarantee of trade union rights; for reduction of war budgets and the shifting of resources now spent on armaments to the peaceful aims of economic and cultural development. It urged that the United Nations, in conformity with its own charter, should carry out its basic role and duty to bring about peaceful co-operation among all peoples.

The Congress instructed WFTU to draw up a charter of trade union and democratic rights, and this was issued by the general council in 1954. This charter, the WFTU explains, contains “only the most elementary rights which one could even call the natural rights of the workers. By freely exercising these rights, the workers will be able to defend their jobs and their dignity by setting a strict limit to the selfish interests of the big employers trying to rake in maximum profits.” Reports on these activities were covered in the monthly *World Trade Union Movement* (in 11 languages) and in the semi-monthly *World Trade Union News*.

**China Reports:** A leading affiliate of WFTU, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, stated in April, 1954, that it had 10,200,000 members. The report was made by Liu Chang-sheng, vice-president of the Federation, who is also secretary of WFTU.

Under the trade union law of the People's Republic, he explained, all workers have the right to organize; unions have the right to represent workers in collective bargaining with management of state enterprises, co-operatives, and private employers; unions ensure that measures for the protection of labor are carried out; and they take measures for improving the material and cultural life of the workers. In state enterprises and co-operatives unions participate in administering production.

After the establishment of the People's Republic in 1950, the Chinese trade unions, which had participated in the fight to oust the dictator-

ship of Chiang Kai-shek, continued to increase in membership. In one year, 1953, they reported a gain of 800,000 members. The report showed that 26 sanatoria and three rest homes were added that year to the network of health centers maintained by the unions with labor insurance funds. This gain brought the total number of union sanatoria up to 77 and rest homes to 38, with some 40 more health centers under construction.

**Against German Rearmament:** In an appeal to the workers of Europe in December, 1954, WFTU's general council called for united action against German rearmament. It pointed out that "the London and Paris agreements are in fact agreements between arms manufacturers. The arms drive would serve only the interests of the big capitalists in the United States, Western Germany, Great Britain and France. . . ."

"The fact that the West German trade unions, affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the East German trade unions affiliated to the World Federation of Trade Unions, are hostile to the re-establishment of German militarism clearly shows that it is possible to achieve the broadest united action in this struggle. . . ."

**Role in U.N.:** The WFTU has consultative status in the United Nations. It has made its voice heard against racial discrimination, for equal pay for women, for cuts in armaments, and in defense of trade union rights at sessions of the UN Economic and Social Council. In 1954 it presented a series of proposals aimed at reducing unemployment, and also suggestions on measures for land reform and industrialization in connection with underdeveloped countries.

During the past two years, the WFTU has taken up protests against infringement of labor's rights in a number of countries. Its earliest actions on this problem were mainly responsible for the adoption by the U.N. of principles concerning freedom of association and protection of the right to organize.

The ECOSOC, however, has delegated its main powers in this field to the International Labor Office to which it refers all protests. The WFTU contends that the ILO has not, to date, effectively fulfilled the responsibility so delegated to it.

**ICFTU:** Appeals by the WFTU for world labor unity have so far been rejected by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions which split off from the older labor organization. The ICFTU, founded in 1949, claims some 53,200,000 members in 73 countries in affiliated unions. Most of these unions had been affiliated with the WFTU



up to the time of the 2nd (Milan) Congress. The AFL, which had not been connected with the WFTU, and the CIO now contribute largely to the support of the ICFTU and take the lead in shaping its policies.

The 3rd world congress of the ICFTU was held in Stockholm, Sweden, July 4-11, 1953. Top leaders of U.S. labor, including Pres. Meany of AFL and Pres. Reuther of CIO headed a group of 25 delegates. They opposed as "appeasement" the British delegation's proposals looking toward negotiations for world peace. A struggle between the British and U.S. delegates over this issue resulted in defeat for the policy of peaceful co-existence.

The former ICFTU president, Sir Vincent Tewson, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, who was opposed by U.S. delegates, did not run again for the ICFTU presidency. Omar Becu of Belgium was elected president on a "no appeasement" program, with the support of AFL, CIO, and Canadian unions.

An economic program, adopted by the Congress, included proposals to establish fair and equalized labor standards; called for drives by union movements to raise wages and purchasing power "as a means of achieving a balance between productive power and purchasing power"; insistence on a constant and guaranteed share of the fruits of increasing productivity; and study of the guaranteed annual wage in contracts "to create a stable purchasing power base upon which full employment and full production must rest."

**U.S. Support:** The AFL has three representatives, Meany, Matthew Woll and Irving Brown, on the ICFTU executive committee. In the fiscal year to June, 1954, the AFL reported spending a total of \$178,580 for the ICFTU, exclusive of \$35,000 spent by its Free Trade Union Committee. The CIO is represented on the ICFTU executive committee by Reuther, who is also a vice-president, and two alternates, Jacob S. Potofsky of the Clothing Workers, and Michael Ross, director of CIO's department of international affairs. In his report to CIO's 1954 convention, Reuther estimated that "an annual total of over a half million dollars is contributed by CIO to aid our brethren overseas in organizing and strengthening their trade union movements."

The AFL executive council in its 1954 report complained that the anti-Soviet front of the ICFTU was "partially weakened at the International Labor Office conference in June, 1954, when some European as well as Asian worker delegates did not follow the policy of the ICFTU on contesting the credentials" of the representatives of the So-

viet trade unions and employing organizations. Contrary to AFL-CIO policy at this ILO conference, the Soviet delegates were accepted by a majority vote and participated in the conference.

## CANADIAN LABOR DEVELOPMENTS

Recent developments in the Canadian labor movement must be examined in the light of the economic and political situation. On the one hand, a serious economic decline, which began to show itself in 1953, extended its impact in 1954. All the key indicators of economic health—gross national product, exports, capital investment in new plants, industrial production, employment—were down in 1954 below 1953 levels. Government estimate of unemployed had reached about 360,000 by December, 1954.

Unemployment and depression conditions have been particularly marked in industries hit by "dumping" from the U.S., for example textiles, women's clothing, and electrical appliances. While the Canadian government does nothing to stop U.S. dumping, it has done little to counter arbitrary measures by the U.S. against Canadian agricultural exports, such as barley, rye, oats, and cheese.

While textiles, clothing and other "soft" goods felt the pinch in 1952-1953, the steel industry showed the greatest decline in 1954. Railways, dependent on grain and other bulk freight for a big share of their business, reflected the general recession. Carloadings in the first 10 months of 1954 fell 9% below the like period of 1953, bringing a loss of 14,000 jobs for rail workers.

Employers launched a major assault against the working class in 1954. The federal government in Ottawa and most of the provincial governments resorted to repressive, anti-union legislation, with intensified police activity and public support for the employer position. But the Canadian working class not only survived this offensive; it emerged from the struggles of 1953 and 1954 more united and militant.

In spite of the economic decline, the ranks of the trade union movement continued to grow. Latest government figures for January, 1954, show a total of 1,267,911 members, about 4% more than a year earlier. But the great majority belong to international unions with headquarters in the U.S. The principal central body continues to be the Trades & Labor Congress of Canada (TLC) with close to 600,000, of which 80% belong to AFL international unions. The Canadian Congress of Labor (CCL) reports about 360,000 members, of which three-quarters belong to CIO international unions. The Canadian & Catholic Con-

federation of Labor (CCCL) reports about 100,000 members, all of whom are in national or local unions with no U.S. affiliation. The railway "running trades" brotherhoods reported close to 41,000 members, while UE, Mine-Mill, and Fur & Leather accounted for some 62,000 members. Altogether, trade union membership represents about a third of the non-agricultural labor force.

**Labor Unity:** Moves towards AFL-CIO unity in the U.S. undoubtedly had their effect in Canada, where a no-raiding agreement was signed in 1954 between the TLC and the CCL. A full merger was expected later, to follow the lead of the projected merging of AFL and CIO in the U.S. In another direction there was unity of action on a provincial scale between the CCL and the Catholic unions, and on an industry scale in the hosiery industry among CCL, Catholic and AFL unions. Late in the year, there was also the beginning of some concerted action among all railroad unions.

The 1954 Convention of the CCL showed a further advance in rank-and-file support for a much broader labor unity, to include progressive unions which had been expelled years earlier. Also, in a number of provinces, TLC and CCL organizations co-operated in campaigns on the legislative field.

The last two years have witnessed a rise in resentment against interference in Canadian union matters by AFL and CIO leaders. U.S.-dictated purges and raids tended to strengthen the feeling that Canada must have its own labor movement, free from U.S. domination. Even right-wing unions were hit by such action directed from U.S. international union offices in 1953 and 1954. Two of the unions involved were the Teamsters and Plumbers.

**Collective Bargaining and Strikes:** The policy of the Canadian Manufacturers' Assn. urging all employers to hold the wage line in contract negotiations gave rise to a number of important strikes in 1953-54. Employer resistance to labor demands was becoming stiffer in 1953, but the really "tough" period was in 1954. Nevertheless, a survey by the Labor Department showed that direct wage increases were negotiated in 1954 in close to 80% of all cases, covering two-thirds of the workers. The survey showed also that 36% of the workers covered got increases in the 5c and 10c bracket, 14% got 10c and 15c, while 11% got up to 5c. The survey included no information on fringe benefits which were a major item, substituting for wage increases in a number of important negotiations.

At the same time, contract clauses, notably regarding seniority, re-

ceived more attention. In two of 1954's biggest strikes, Ford of Canada and Massey-Harris-Ferguson (both UAW-CIO), company insistence on wrecking seniority protection was a big factor in the disputes.

The wage-cutting agreements by the UAW with Kaiser-Willys and Studebaker in the U.S. were given much publicity in the press, and Canadian workers were publicly urged to follow the "statesmanship" of UAW leaders. But with the exception of one woolen mill agreement made by an "independent" one-plant union, there were no significant wage-cutting agreements in Canada.

The year 1954 saw a total of 168 reported strikes (including lock-outs), involving 61,477 workers, and causing a loss of 1,472,160 man-days. This represented a small but significant increase over 1953. While many 1954 strikes were forced on workers by company efforts to reduce contract protection, in practically every case the final settlements maintained contract protection and showed economic gains for the workers which, even though small, were a significant victory. The Ford settlement, for example, won a 11¼c package, including a 4c increase, improved welfare, and a seventh paid holiday.

A feature of the 1953 and 1954 strike picture was the large number in the building trades and in old-line AFL craft unions. In most cases, it was the first strike in decades for the particular union. The Carpenters called strikes in Toronto, Kingston, Cornwall, and Ottawa in 1954, and pulled a long strike in Vancouver in 1953. The Electrical Workers (AFL) carried on strikes in Windsor and Sarnia. The Plumbers were involved in a long and bitterly-fought struggle in Montreal and in Winnipeg, London, and Regina. The Bricklayers struck in Toronto and Kingston. The Machinists declared a strike at Dominion Engineering, Montreal, probably the first strike in the long history of the plant. Among CIO-CCL unions, Auto was involved in a number of important strikes through 1954, including Kelvinator, Massey-Harris-Ferguson, and Ford. The 1953 general strike of the Steelworkers in the gold and copper mining industry in Northern Quebec and Ontario had mixed results; and 1954 saw strikes in a number of smaller steel shops. Several significant spontaneous "wildcat" strikes occurred in 1954, in steel, rubber, clothing, and textile plants. Noteworthy was a one-week strike by Toronto cutters in spite of return-to-work orders, threats and redbaiting public attacks by union officials.

**Anti-Labor Legislation:** The year 1954 saw what was probably the biggest fight against anti-labor legislation in Canadian history. Four separate struggles were waged—nationally against amendments to the

Criminal Code, and in Quebec, in British Columbia, and in Alberta.

The fight against anti-union, anti-strike, anti-democratic changes in the Criminal Code (dictated by the U.S. government to protect U.S. military and air bases in Canada, according to the *Montreal Gazette*) started in 1951 when the first amendments were introduced. Initiated mainly by the progressive unions (UE, Mine-Mill, Fur & Leather), the campaign against the union-wrecking amendments involved practically the entire labor movement, in one way or another.

The TLC leaders at first endorsed the anti-labor provisions, and red-baited those who were opposed. A few months later, however, they were forced to change their tune and to pay some lip service to the grassroots campaign for stopping the government's amendments. In the final stages of the campaign, in the early months of 1954, the TLC officials agreed to accept some slight concession offered by the government. It was the CCL, the Catholic unions and the progressive unions which pushed the campaign until the government was forced to accept a number of significant changes which weakened the anti-labor, anti-strike purposes of the new Code. But it still contained a clause (Sec. 365) on "criminal breach of contract," under which workers involved in a railway strike or a strike in a utility (gas or electricity) could be sentenced to five years in prison.

The union-hating Premier Maurice Duplessis of the Province of Quebec added two weapons more to the union-smashing arsenal of big business. He introduced amendments to current legislation which:

(a) Require the Labor Relations Board to decertify as bargaining agent any union which "tolerates, among its organizers or officers . . . persons adhering to a Communist party or movement." The measure is retroactive to February 3, 1944. In other words, any union could be decertified as long as a paid informer or labor spy swore that, ten years ago, the recording secretary was on the mailing list of the Canadian-Russian War Relief Fund (considered to be a "Communist movement").

(b) Automatically decertify any union of employees in public service such as transit workers, utilities, municipal workers, teachers, which "orders, declares or encourages, or whose directors order, declare or encourage, or whose members carry out a strike." This is also retroactive to February, 1944.

Both Catholic unions and OCL organizations strongly opposed these measures and organized a "March on Quebec" to lobby against the measure. This campaign was sabotaged by the AFL union leaders who

were publicly praised by Duplessis for not opposing the two measures, both of which were adopted. Then the first attempt to use the "anti-Communist" provision was made—against the AFL plumbers' union in the middle of its strike.

In British Columbia, the provincial government introduced a completely new Labor Relations Act setting fresh precedents in the shackling of the labor movement. Despite a strong, more or less united campaign (involving even AFL leaders) the Act was passed. Some of the worst features are those whereby a "legal" strike can be declared only after a compulsory strike vote of all employees (including non-union members). The strike vote must be supervised by a government representative if the employer so desires; the strike must be declared within the three months following the strike vote; and the employer must get 48 hours' written notice before the strike can start. If these rules are not followed, then the Minister of Labor can refer the matter to a Supreme Court Judge who is empowered (without even notifying the union of the hearing or permitting it to be represented at the hearing and to call witnesses) to declare null and void the existing collective agreement, the existing check-off of dues, and the existing certification as bargaining agent.

In Alberta, the trade union movement's campaign won a significant victory. Not only did it force the government to backtrack from its intention of empowering a judge to cancel a union's certification for calling an "illegal" strike, but forced the removal of two existing provisions which empowered a judge to cancel an existing collective agreement and check-off.

## LATIN AMERICAN LABOR ACTIVITIES

Latin America witnessed four major labor actions in 1954. Over 900,000 workers paralyzed Sao Paulo, Brazil's main industrial city, in a 24-hour general strike for higher wages and lower prices. A similar action of over 700,000 took place throughout Chile for better conditions and release of labor leader Cletario Blest. Over a million Argentine workers went on strike for wage increases, in spite of opposition from their Peron-appointed leaders. And 40,000 unorganized Honduran workers struck against the country's two U.S. banana companies, winning increased wages and the right to form unions for the first time.

Followers of the Confederation of Latin American Workers (CTAL) played a major part in these actions, in line with CTAL policy of uniting all workers for basic demands.

The Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), which regards its main task as fighting "Communists," has been working with right-wing governments and the U.S. State Department in an effort to put pro-company men in union leadership.

Also active in Latin America is the Peron-backed Association of Latin American Trade Unionists (ATLAS), which has little influence outside the government-dominated Argentina General Confederation of Labor.

A U.S. labor organizer, representing ORIT and the International Oil Workers Federation, is reported to have organized some 2,000 oil workers in the Dutch colony of Aruba where Standard Oil Co. (N.J.) has vast holdings.

Closer relations have been established between U.S. and Mexican unions. A permanent liaison committee of eight U.S. and eight Mexican labor leaders has been formed to deal with the problems of Mexican migratory workers, and to stimulate co-operation between Mexican and U.S. workers in similar industries.

ORIT and its two main U.S. affiliates, AFL and CIO, supported the overthrow of the democratic Arbenz Guatemalan regime, which fell in June, 1954. Severe labor repression since then has elicited criticism, but only from the CIO.

In the following countries trade unions are either outlawed or are controlled by the government in such a way as to render them largely ineffective: Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Venezuela. In Cuba and Argentina respectively, where one major government-dominated federation encompasses most of the unions, workers' pressure has sometimes been able to force federation leaders into action.

In the British West Indies, which have some independent unions, the major ones are led by men who work closely with British-appointed colonial rulers. The major union federation in British Guiana is progressive-led.

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